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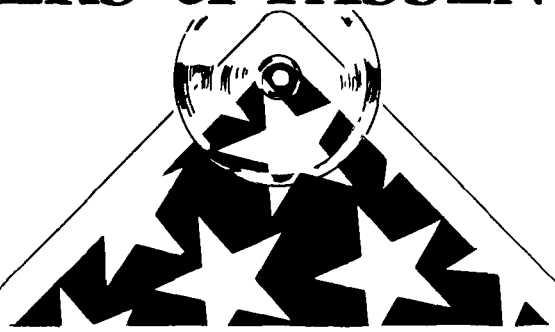

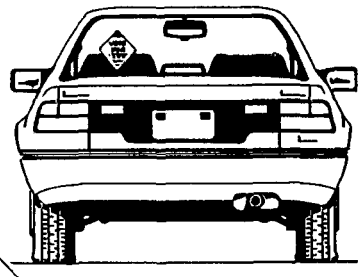

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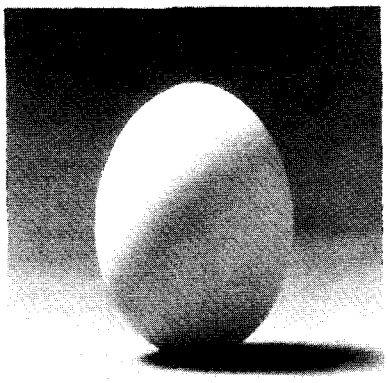

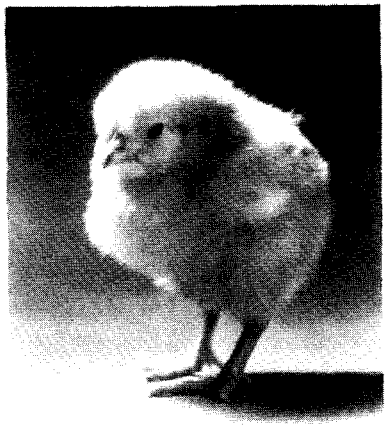

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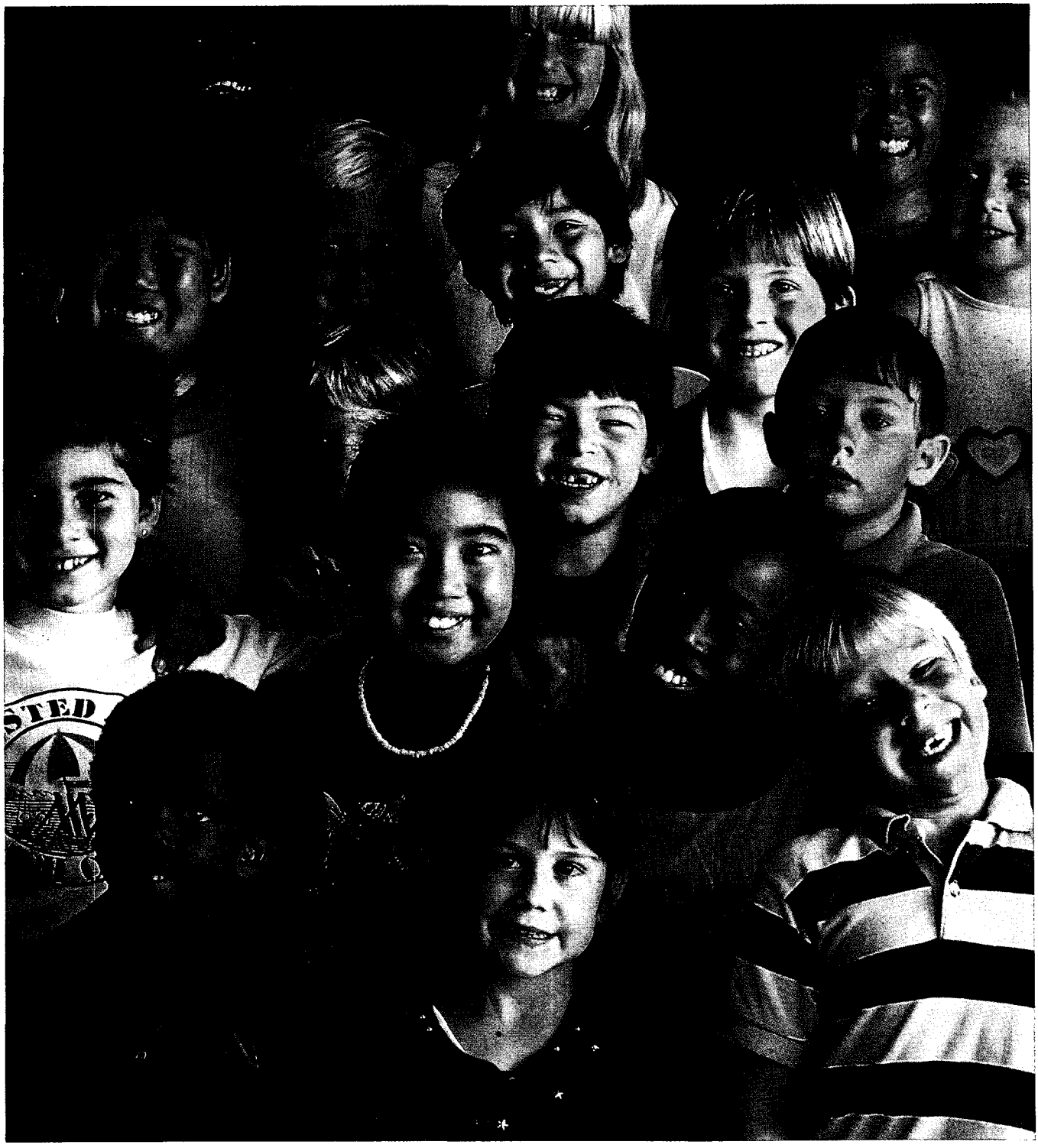

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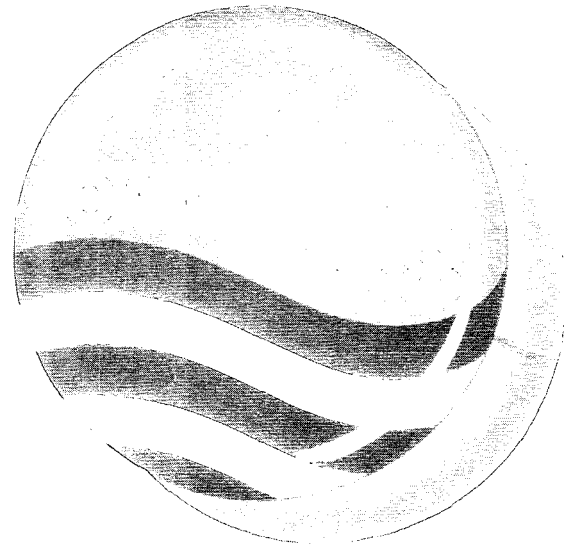

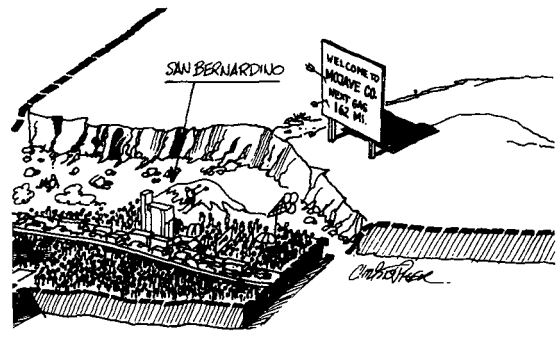

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UP FRONT

Fund raiser extraordinaire. Financially-strapped school districts across the state can take a lesson from high school booster clubs in Palo Alto. According to the *Palo Alto Weekly*, clubs for Gunn and Palo Alto high schools plan to support local sports programs with a unique fund raiser. A field at one of the schools will be divided into small numbered squares, each to sell for $10. On May 21st, a cow named "Miss Cloverdale" will be set loose on the field with the express purpose of dropping a chip of processed hay on one of those squares. The lucky "owner" of that cow-graced patch of grass wins $5000. To avoid charges of running an illegal lottery, booster officials have been told they must offer free squares to those who request them. Is the district embarrassed over this less-than-blue chip way of funding sports programs? Let's just say that district superintendent Julian Crocker wishes boosters would raise money some other way.
(Malcolm Mitchell, Portola Valley)

Down and dirty in Beverly Hills. There is no community quite like Beverly Hills, and Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis hopes the folks back home don't get the idea that every city ought to operate like the affluent Los Angeles burg. While campaigning for president there, Dukakis was astounded to discover maintenance men washing down the street in front of a bank with soap and water. "Just wait until the folks back East hear how you people out in California clean your streets," he noted glumly to reporters. "There goes another boost in the budget if they think that's the way to go."
(Richard Bergholz, Los Angeles)

Fade out; fade in. Even as Speaker Willie Brown's star begins to fade in the Assembly (see "A Crumbling Speakership?" *CJ*, April 1988), his star may be rising on the national scene. His role as head of Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign has given the speaker an enormous amount of visibility, as evidenced by appearances on ABC's "Nightline" and a prominent place at Jackson's elbow in a recent *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine photos. Plus, *Life* Magazine credited Brown for helping create a special issue on Black America, released on newsstands in April 1988. A portrait of Brown, his mother Minnie and daughter Robin graced an editor's note which introduced the issue and cited Brown's family as an example of the progress of the Black middle class. Robin Brown, a four-year employee of *Life*, designed the issue. In the Assembly, however, dad Willie is fast becoming a head without a body. More and more, dissident Democrats (read: the Gang of Five) join with Republicans to flaunt the deterioration of Brown's power to control the flow of legislation through the committee process. In the meantime, the Assembly itself has virtually ground to a halt.

The two-term ban is breaking up that old gang of mine. Ronald Reagan's days as president are numbered, and the expected end of his administration is causing many old Reaganites to shift into another gear. As *National Journal* reports in its March 12th issue, one evidence of the end of the Reagan era is the projected dissolution of Russo, Watts & Rollins, the political consulting and lobbying firm with offices in Washington, D.C., and Sacramento. Russo and Watts rose to prominence by helping then-Attorney General George Deukmejian salvage his faltering gubernatorial campaign back in 1982. Both served in the first Duke administration before Watts resigned to become national media director for Reagan's 1984 reelection campaign and Russo departed to run initiative campaigns. Rollins went to D.C. with Reagan in 1980 as White House political advisor. Russo, Watts & Rollins was formed after the '84 elections. According to *National Journal*, Russo intends to headquarter in Sacramento, Watts in New York and Rollins in the nation's capital.

Blind luck department. The attorney general's *Biennial Report* chronicles major activities of the state Department of Justice for 1985-86, including crackdowns on nefarious business practices. Apparently, report editors needed a photo of solar panels to illustrate a section on swindlers who sell faulty solar equipment. To secure the photo, a photographer wandered around Sacramento neighborhoods until a suitable panel-laden roof was found. Of all the roofs that could have been photographed throughout Sacramento County, the one chosen at random belonged to Deputy Attorney General Nelson Kempsky. No word on whether he was swindled.

Things are a little testy in the Assembly these days. The 'Gang of Five' managed to embarrass Speaker Brown by withdrawing a bill from committee for the first time in years, prompting the speaker to call the gang members 'the most outrageous collection of ungrateful people I've ever met.' Brown's lieutenant Maxine Waters accused the gang of hiring a detective — who happens to be the brother of a Gary Condit staffer — to spy on Brown loyalists, a charge that was denied. And then rumors started circulating of a late-night shouting match at a local bar between Brown and Calderon. Brown said it wasn't true. But a whole lot of people *thought* it was true anyway. While all this is going on, the regular business of the Legislature has come to a crashing halt. Given the uncertian atmosphere, no one wants to take any chances with any legislation they care about.

Proof that campaign reform is a good idea: All the legislative leaders and the governor have come out against it.

The state's minor parties may be slipping in support, but they keep plugging away. In fact, the Peace and Freedom Party in Los Angeles has made running for office someting of a family affair. John Honigsfeld is running for Congress in the 23rd District, now held by Tony Beilenson. His wife, Shirly Isaacson, is running in the 22nd District held by Carlos Moorhead, and his mother, Salomea Hoingsfeld, is running in the 28th District represented by Julian Dixon. None of the family, by the way, lives in the district where they're running, which isn't required for congressional candidates. And Ms. Isaacson also happens to be a candidate for president, one of five contesting for the par-

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ty's nomination, which will be decided at its convention this summer.

The ballot booklet provided in the April 1988 *California Journal* contained some errors in the analyses of the two campaign reform initiatives — Propositions 68 and 73. The background information provided as an introduction to Proposition 73 states: "Proposition 73 attempts to address one issue not dealt with by Proposition 68 — honoraria to elected officials."

Proposition 68, however, does deal with honoraria. According to language in Prop 68, "No legislator or legislative candidate and any fund controlled by such a person shall receive more than two thousand dollars ($2000) in honoraria and gifts in a two-year period from any person other than a member of the candidate's family."

Several other errors were contained in the explanation for Proposition 68. Candidates are allowed to raise $1000 from individuals and $2500 from organizations per *election*, not *per year* as stated in the analysis. Assembly candidates may spend only $225,000 for a general election, not the $250,000 mentioned in the analysis. Also, candidates whose opponents do not abide by spending limits are allowed to raise an additional $35,000 from private sources, not from the Campaign Reform Fund. Finally, proponents of Proposition 68 say that to decrease the influence of special interests on campaigns, campaign *spending* must be limited, not campaign *contributions* as stated in the analysis.

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— William Allen White

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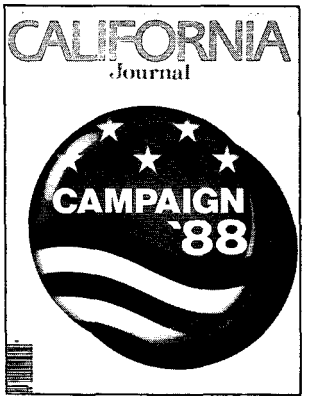

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The wooing of California

State's voters could decide Democratic nominee

By Mark Simon

For months, California voters have stood with their noses pressed against the window, watching the rest of the country feast at a presidential campaign banquet. Now, Californians finally get their turn at the table, only to find that the anticipation once again may exceed the actual event.

Clearly, the state's Democrats will cast votes on June 7th in what may be the most crucial presidential primary in at least 16 years, choosing between the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis and Tennessee Senator Albert Gore Jr.

But even as voters and key campaign personnel prepare for what should be an entertaining and exciting primary campaign, there is an underlying frustration that the state is voting too late and faced with too few choices. That frustration itself ultimafely may push Californians into the kind of voting decisions they have made more than once during the past two decades: away from a front-runner and toward an anti-establishment, insurgent candidate.

At least the Democrats get a choice.

All the state's Republican voters face is the chance to ratify the decision made in other primary states and confirm the nomination of Vice President George Bush. California affords Bush an opportunity to begin his general-election campaign, and he plans some personal appearances here, and some media advertising.

But even with Kansas Senator Robert Dole and former television evangelist Pat Robertson still on the ballot, this is not the stuff of high political drama.

The Democrats have cornered that market.

Weeks before the primary, it became clear that the best

Mark Simon is a political reporter for the Peninsula Times Tribune.

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either Jackson or Dukakis could hope for is the kind of victory that would provide one of them with a symbolic grip on the nomination.

"Cal.fornia will be the springboard for whoever the nominee will be," said Assemblyman Tom Bates, state co-chairman for Jackson. "Whoever wins here has an excellent chance of making the case they should be the nominee."

"I think California is up for grabs," said Darry Sragow, California coordinator for Gore. "It's very clear to me at this juncture that Jesse Jackson has scared a lot of White voters and that Michael Dukakis has failed to turn on a lot of White voters. So there is a void there to be filled by someone."

It was unclear whether Jackson or Dukakis would come into the state as a solid front-runner after key primaries in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio. It was just as unclear which of them would come into California needing a win here as a last-ditch chance to stop the other from winning, a circumstance that could be very important if California history is at all instructive.

More than one political analyst has noted that in past primaries California Democrats have demonstrated a willingness to go with the "insurgent" candidate.

"There is a great history of the anti-establishment candidate doing well," said San Francisco consultant Paul Ambrosino, who has been working on direct mail for the Gore campaign since the Iowa caucuses.

Indeed, in 1968 Californians gave Robert Kennedy his most important victory against Hubert Humphrey, the ultimate Democratic establishment figure of the time. In 1972 California put George McGovern over the top for the nomination, supporting a candidate clearly running outside the party establishment. In 1976 the state voted for favorite son and resident political counter-force Jerry Brown, even though Jimmy Carter already had sewn up the nomination.

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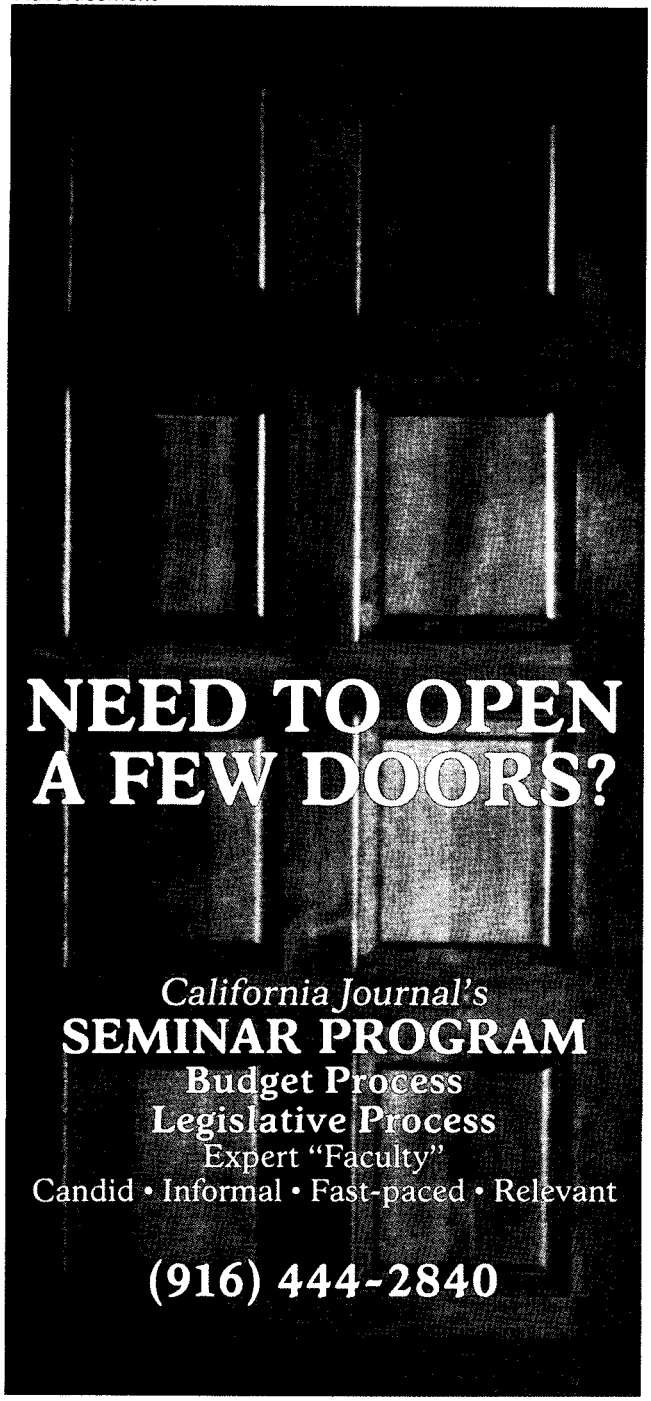

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In 1980, when Carter again had guaranteed himself the nomination, the bulk of the state's Democrats voted for Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy, providing him his largest bloc of delegates at the national convention. And in 1984 the state again went for the non-nominee, Colorado Senator Gary Hart, who had hoped a win in California could aid him in his efforts to stop Walter Mondale.

Some analysts admitted California's tendencies in presidential primaries may be a reflection of scheduling. Coming late in the primary season, Californians usually have had the limited choice of supporting the likely nominee or voicing some sort of dissent.

If California's Democrats tend to favor dissenting and anti-establishment candidates, that would seem to be a plus for Jackson, whose entire campaign has been a challenge to the establishment.

"Jackson is the ultimate anti-politician," said state Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, national chairman of the Jackson campaign. "Jackson has proven to all of us who consider ourselves as pros that a non-pro, an amateur, can get out there and do it. You understand that this man's resume does not include any previous public service any place. Jackson has absolutely proven that you don't need to go that route."

An April *California Poll* by Mervin Field seemed to bolster Brown's assertion. It showed that 64 percent of the state's Democrats considered Jackson somewhat or highly qualified to be president, double the number who thought so in 1984.

If Jackson has improved his image in 1988, he has vastly improved his campaign organization in the state, beginning with the inestimable aid of Brown, who promised to raise $1 million for a media campaign here.

With Gore's own fund-raising difficulties, and the fact that Dukakis might be nearing the federal spending ceiling, it is possible Jackson may outspend his rivals in California, said Bates.

Having run in California four years ago, Jackson also is ahead of Dukakis and Gore in organizing grass-roots support. He was the first to open full-time campaign offices in the north and the south and to have campaign operations in all of the state's 45 congressional districts, where delegates actually will be selected.

In 1984 Jackson won delegates in only five congressional districts, largely urban parts of the state.

"The ballgame has changed," said Bates. "We think the progressive Democrats of California are going to turn to Jackson. He's the one who has the message that has reached the hearts and minds of voters."

In particular, Jackson's message of "economic violence" may reach Californians, Bates said.

"People here realize that they've seen middle class jobs evaporate and low-pay, no-benefit jobs replace them."

For Dukakis, California's tendency toward the anti-establishment candidate presents a particular dilemma — much of his campaign is based on his experience as a successful manager of the Massachusetts economy, and much of his strategy has been based on establishing himself as the front-runner.

"When you're running a primary campaign, you can do it with short-term objectives in mind or do it looking down the road as well," said John Emerson, former national deputy campaign manager for Hart and a Dukakis strategist.

"We intend to do it looking down the road towards the general election. ... We are running not just to win in a strong showing out here, but also to win in a way that builds a base," he said.

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Dukakis has been endorsed by dozens of California officials, forming a state steering committee that includes Congressmen Norman Mineta of San Jose and Robert Matsui of Sacramento, state Senators Nick Petris of Oakland and Barry Keene of Benicia and San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos.

While Jackson is hoping to compete financially, Dukakis comes into California with a proven record as the top fund raiser in the campaign, a fact reflected in state polls.

They showed Dukakis with a solid image of effective leadership in his home state, and with an equally solid lead of more than 10 points, according to a Field poll taken after the Wisconsin primary in April. Perhaps the most crucial factor for Dukakis may be the lateness with which the campaign has been developing.

Dukakis has assumed none of the inevitability that was apparent in the case of Carter and Mondale and other past primaries.

"You could make a case that he is the 'giant-killer' knocking off one candidate after another and surviving," said one strategist from a rival campaign.

But if Dukakis' campaign is anxious to assume the mantle of front-runner, officials from the Gore campaign are ready to cast the Massachusetts governor as the establishment candidate.

"The challenge for Dukakis will be to present himself as more than a Northeastern liberal. Will he come off as a Mondale candidate or as someone more progressive and outside the establishment?" asked Ambrosino.

Clearly, Gore officials think their candidate can tap into the sense that California Democrats are looking for something more than the usual.

"I think most Americans, most Californians, are very impatient and are looking for leadership and direction and new visions," said Sragow. "Al Gore is exactly that, by temperment, by way of looking at the world. ... I think Al Gore has the potential to do extremely well in California. Youth and vision work well here."

Gore's main problem might be the kind of shape he is in by the time he gets here.

Officials with Gore's campaign admitted before the New York primary that he was running out of money and needed a strong showing there to keep going. At the same time, however, they vehemently denied that Gore would stay in the race through California just to assure himself a shot at the vice-presidential nomination.

"That is an argument the Dukakis campaign likes to make. I don't think it's true," said Sragow.

Still, speculation on Gore's vice-presidential chances only serves to reinforce the notion that the California primary is essentially a two-candidate race between Jackson and Dukakis. While that may be a limited choice in comparison to the options presented to voters in Iowa and New Hampshire, it is nonetheless a choice of some genuine significance for the eventual Democratic nominee.

For most voters, that would be an exciting enough prospect. But this time, there is no clear-cut California favorite — as Hart was in 1984, for example.

"One of the problems Dukakis and Gore both have," Sragow admitted, "is that they have not developed a substantial personal base in California. They are, by and large, unknown to the kind of major players that are important here. The candidates have found themselves asking for support in a way that's almost premature in California. ... Candidates have been asking California supporters to sleep with them on the first date. This is the 1980s, and they want to get to know you a little bit."

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California Journal's district-by-district analysis

CONGRESS

District 1 (56% D — 33% R) Democrats: Incumbent Doug Bosco of Occidental, Darryl Cherney of Piercy, Lionel Gambill of Occidental and Neil Bethel Sinclair of Monte Rio. Republicans: Ruben Covarrubias Jr. of Sebastopol and Mark Vanderbilt of Clearlake. Peace and Freedom: Eric Fried of Sebastopol.

Three-term incumbent Doug Bosco has once again drawn three Democratic primary opponents. But last time he got 74 percent of the primary vote and although things are always fractious in this North Coast district, there is no reason he won't do so again. November should be little more trouble.

District 2 (47% D — 42% R) Democrat: Wayne Meyer of Sutter. Republican: Incumbent Wally Herger of Yuba City. Libertarian: Harry H. Pendery of Paradise.

If Democrats ever had a chance in this inland Northern California seat it was 1986 when it fell vacant following the retirment of Gene Chappie. They ran popular Shasta County Supervisor Steve Swendiman then, but he managed only 40 percent of the vote against former Assemblyman Wally Herger. There's not much chance of the Democrats shaking Herger loose. He has no primary opponent and doesn't expect much trouble in the general.

District 3 (56% D — 34% R) Democrat: Incumbent Robert Matsui of Sacramento. Republicans: Lowell Landowski and Donald Perdue, both of Sacramento.

This looks like a replay of an election two years ago. Both of Matsui's Republicans were in the primary then, too. Landowski eventually won, but he collected only 24 percent of the vote in the general election. Matsui this year flirted with the idea of running for Pete Wilson's U. S. Senate seat. But Leo McCarthy had a big head start and Secretary of State March Fong Eu, another dropout, was competing for Asian seed money, so Matsui decided instead to return to the safety of his Sacramento-based congressional district.

District 4 (54% D — 34%R) Democrat: Incumbent Vic Fazio of Sacramento.

There once was a time when Republicans thought they could beat Fazio in this district that includes portions of Sacramento and surrounding Delta farmland, if for no other reason than it was his task to carry congressional pay raise bills. But Fazio, considered one of the state's most effective congressmen, resisted all those efforts and now gets an unopposed contest for his fifth term in the House.

District 5 (64% D — 19%R) Democrat: Incumbent Nancy Pelosi of San Francisco. Republicans: Bruce O'Neill and Tom Spinosa, both of San Francisco. Libertarian: Sam Grove of San Francisco. Peace and Freedom, Ted Zuur of San Francisco.

This is the San Francisco congressional seat that the late Phil Burton, architect of the congressional redistricting plan, saved for himself. After his death, it was filled by his wife, Sala, until her death last year. Now it belongs to Pelosi who, with the support of the Burton machine, won a narrow primary victory over Gay San Francisco Supervisor Harry Britt. She has no Democratic opponent in her first bid for a full term, and there is little chance that any Republican could oust her from the stronghold Phil Burton created for himself.

District 6 (58%D — 27%R) Democrat: Barbara Boxer of San Francisco. Republicans: Harry Ernst III of Vallejo, and William Steinmetz of Mill Valley.

Phil Burton originally created this district for his brother John, the newest addition to the California Assembly. But the younger Burton never occupied the seat, which is centered in Marin County but wanders all over the north San Francisco Bay area in search of Democrats. Instead it went to Boxer, who has occupied it without serious challenge since 1982. Back again is architect Ernst, who got only 24 percent of the vote in the 1986 general election.

District 7 (55%D — 34%R) Democrat: Incumbent George Miller of Martinez. Republican: Jean Last of Brentwood.

George Miller has represented this Contra Costa County district for seven terms. Although he's probably a little more liberal than the district, he is chairman of the Subcommittee on Water and Power Resources and from that post can protect the interests of the communities he represents along the southwestern flanks of the San Joaquin Delta area. Ronald Reagan narrowly carried this district four years ago but, at the same time, Miller racked up 67 percent of the vote.

District 8 (63%D — 25%R) Democrat: Incumbent Ron Dellums of Oakland. Republicans: John J. Cuddihy Jr. of Lafayette and Eric Garris of Berkeley. Peace and Freedom: Tom Condit of Berkeley.

Among the most liberal of California's congressmen, eight-term veteran Ron Dellums is ideally suited to two-thirds of his supporters, mainly those that reside along the eastern edge of San Francisco Bay. This is a district that gave 65 percent of its votes to Walter Mondale in 1984. It may be that the voters who live in the wealthier suburbs inland may not be as happy with Dellums, but they can't seem to make a dent in the 60 percent margin he collects every two years.

District 9 (59%D — 29%R) Democrat: Incumbent Pete Stark of Hayward. Republican: Howard Hertz of San Leandro.

Incumbent Pete Stark's only problem is seeing if he can again get more than 70 percent of the vote.

District 10 (59%D — 28%R) Democrat: Incumbent Don Edwards of San Jose and Anselmo Chavez of Milpitas. Libertarian: Kennita Watson of San Jose.

Republicans know better than to try and unseat 12-term incumbent Don Edwards. They haven't bothered to field a candidate. But Edwards does have a primary opponent in this San Jose-based district which has a Hispanic population of close to 30 percent, process planner Anselmo Chavez. Currently Edwards is one of the two most senior members of the California congressional delegation and he probably will continue to be when November elections are over.

District 11 (56%D — 32%R) Democrat: Incumbent Tom Lantos of Burlingame. Republican:

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Bill Quraishi of El Granada. American Independent: Nicholas W. Kudrovzeff of Pacifica. Libertarian: Bill Wade of San Carlos. Peace and Freedom: Victor Martinez of San Francisco.

Incumbent Tom Lantos has had his tough runs in this San Francisco Bay peninsula district, but they are all in the past. This year he will again face businessman Quraishi after winning 74 percent of the vote against him in 1986. There's no reason to think things will be different this year.

District 12 (44%D — 43%R) Democrats: Gary Bond of Mountain View, Anna Eshoo of Redwood City, Jim Garrison of Mountain View, Ernest Macias of Morgan Hill, and Sylvia Simmons of Hillsborough. Republicans: Incumbent Ernie Konnyu of Cupertino, and Tom Campbell of Stanford. Libertarian: Tom Grey of Mountain View.

Former Congressman Ed Zschau left this Silicon Valley seat in 1986 to run for the U. S. Senate and it was captured with difficulty by outspoken former Assemblyman Ernie Konnyu. In his first two years in office, Konnyu has turned out to be a little rough around the edges, and possibly too conservative for this wealthy suburban district. He now faces stiff competition within his own party from Stanford professor Campbell, who has the support of many of the high-tech Republicans who inhabit the district. If a wounded Konnyu survives, he will still face a difficult general election, mostly likely against San Mateo Supervisor Anna Eshoo. (See below.)

District 13 (51%D — 36%R) Democrat: Incumbent Norman Mineta. Republicans: Jim Eskes and Luke Sommer. Libertarian: John Webster. All are from San Jose.

There will probably be a time when Republicans will try and claim this district, which gave 58 percent of its votes to Ronald Reagan four years ago. But that's not likely to happen while six-term incumbent Norman Mineta is in it. While Reagan

The clash over couth

Konnyu

Campbell

Eshoo

Sophisticated, well heeled and well educated, the voters of the 12th Congressional District are accustomed to the leadership of liberal-to-moderate Republican congressmen like Paul "Pete" McCloskey and Ed Zschau.

But for the past two years, the congressman from Silicon Valley has been conservative Ernie Konnyu, 50, the bluff, blunt and occasionally blunder-prone former assemblyman from Saratoga.

The district covers some of California's most expensive real estate, from Hillsborough and Atherton in San Mateo County south through the affluent hillside communities of Santa Clara and Santa Cruz counties. It has long been a Republican stronghold, but a moderate one with liberal sensibilities on issues such as the environment.

Konnyu is considered to be to the right of his constituency. Some of his public statements as an assemblyman have rankled more moderate sensibilities — as did his 1986 assertion that Filipino President Corazon Aquino was ruling illegally. In a television interview last year, McCloskey called Konnyu an "embarrassment" to the district.

It was no surprise when no fewer than nine potential challengers appeared following an August *San Jose Mercury News* story in which Konnyu was accused of vulgarly addressing women aides and a lobbyist of offending senior House Republicans.

Konnyu's most formidable test comes from fellow Republican Tom Campbell, 36, a Stanford law professor who appears a more likely ideological heir to McCloskey and Zschau. Campbell already has gathered an impressive list of endorsements, including McCloskey and Zschau, three Nobel laureates, David Packard of the Hewlett-Packard Company and John Sculley, chief of Apple Computer.

At the end of March, Campbell attacked Konnyu for the first time concerning the incidents of alleged sexual harrassment, chiding him for "insensitivity" and "crassness."

Konnyu shrugged off the criticism. The first-term congressman has raised his own share of funds from Silicon Valley leaders. He has treated Campbell with an incumbent's traditional disdain for challengers, at one point refusing to meet in a debate because, "I don't debate nobodies."

Frustrated, Campbell has been holding his own "town meetings," in part to dramatize that Konnyu has held only eight constituent gatherings since taking office. In contrast, Zschau held about 100 constituent meetings during his first year.

In March, Campbell also began a $50,000 radio campaign, launching it the same day that Konnyu formally announced for re-election.

Konnyu should win by commanding both the power of the incumbency and the loyalty of conservatives. District Republicans worry that a divisive primary campaign, which may cost as much as $1 million, will hurt the party enough to give Democrats their first win there in modern times.

The Democratic challenger most likely will be Anna Eshoo, 45, a San Mateo County supervisor since 1982, or Jim Garrison, 37, a director of the Esalen Institute's Soviet-American Exchange program.

Eshoo would appear to hold the advantage. She is well connected with the party elite statewide and nationally. By late March those connections began to pay off. She received money from a number of members of California's congressional delegation, including $5000 from House Majority Whip Tony Coelho of Merced. Her campaign was one of six nationwide picked for EMILY's (Early Money Is Like Yeast) list, a donor network backing candidates supportive of feminist issues, that brought two U.S. Senate candidates $150,000 each in 1986.

Eshoo also won the party's endorsement at the state convention in March despite Garrison's nearly successful attempt to persuade delegates to stay out of the race.

As of the first financial filing, Garrison had out-raised Eshoo, although he had a significant head start. Garrison's fund-raisers have featured California-style celebrities such as "Megatrends" author John Naisbitt and environmentalist icon David Brower, founder of Friends of the Earth.

Three other Democrats also are running: attorney and former television reporter Sylvia Simmons, businessman Gary Bonds, and attorney Ernest Marcias.

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was getting his 58 percent, Mineta racked up 70 percent of the vote. Either Eskes or Sommer is likely to suffer the same fate.

District 14 (47%D — 43%R) Democrat: Patricia Malberg of Lincoln. Republican: Incumbent Norman Shumway of Stockton.

Republican Norman Shumway must be slipping. Two years ago, he only got 72 percent of the vote. At that rate, he'll only be able to hold his Sierra foothill district for another 22 years.

District 15 (57%D — 35%R) Democrats: Incumbent Tony Coelho of Modesto and Gerry Mansell of Merced. Republican: Carol Harner of Mariposa. Libertarian: Richard Harris of Mariposa.

In only 10 years, Congressman Tony Coelho has become the majority whip, the third most powerful position in the House, and there is a distinct possibility that he will one day be its speaker. His Central Valley constituents seem to appreciate his virtues; they gave him 71 percent of the vote against rancher Harner two years ago.

District 16 (51%D — 36%R) Democrats: Incumbent Leon Panetta of Carmel Valley and Arthur Dunn of Monterey. Republicans Louis Darrigo of Aptos and Stanley Monteith of Soquel.

Republicans look at the registration in this district along the coast surrounding Monterey and think they might one day win this seat. But coast-dwelling Republicans behave differently than do those elsewhere in the state. And in this district, they seem quite content with Panetta, who had 78 percent of the vote against Darrigo, back again for more punishment, two years ago. The incumbent will first have to once again dispose of Dunn, a backer of Lyndon LaRouche, who managed only 6 percent of the vote in 1986.

District 17 (51%D — 41%R) Democrat: Vincent Lavery of Fresno. Republican: Incumbent Charles Pashayan of Fresno.

Central Valley Democrats thought they had a good candidate two years ago when they found an aide to neighboring Congressman Rick Lehman to run against Pashayan. He was, he got 40 percent of the vote. Educator Lavery probably won't do as well.

District 18 (61%D — 32%R) Democrat: Incumbent Richard Lehman of Fresno. Republican: David Linn of Oakhurst.

Every Democrat in the Central Valley has been rounded up to create this district for Rick Lehman. They can be expected to give him his fourth term in Congress come November.

District 19 (46%D — 41%R) Democrat: Gary Hart of Santa Barbara. Republican: Incumbent Robert Lagomarsino of Ventura. Libertarian: Robert Donaldson of Newbury Park.

Democrats kept hoping that 61-year-old Bob Lagomarsino would retire this year after 14 years in the house. Well, he didn't, and now state Senator Gary Hart has decided to give him a push. Hart has been chafing in the Legislsature, and he gets a free run this year at Lagomarsino. Although the registration here would seem to favor the Republican, this is an area that has been good to Democrats, too, sending Hart to the Senate and Jack O'Connell to the Assembly. The incumbent starts out with a sizeable lead in campaign money, but Hart will raise enough to make this one of the most interesting congressional races of the year. If the economy gets worse, or President Reagan's foreign exploits go awry, Lagomarsino could be in deep trouble.

District 20 (44%D — 47%R) Democrat: Lita Reid of Ridgecrest. Republican: Incumbent William Thomas of Bakersfield. Libertarian: David Bersohn of Atascadero.

We hope that journalist Reid is planning on writing a book about her run at 10-year veteran Bill Thomas, because that's about all she can expect to get out of the experience in this solidly Republican district.

District 21 (38%D — 52%R) Democrat: Donald Stevens of Thousand Oaks. Republicans: Incumbent Elton Gallegly of Simi Valley, David Desko of Canoga Park, and Sang Korman of Thousand Oaks. Libertarian: Robert Jay of Westlake Village.

First term incumbent Gallegly has settled nicely into this wealthy, White, Republican district that represents the western end of the San Fernando Valley in Los Angeles and Ventura counties. He's already won the toughest election he'll probably ever face, two years ago when he beat Tony Hope, son of comedian Bob Hope, in the Republican primary to see who would replace Bobbi Fiedler in Congress. There's little chance he won't win a second term this year.

District 22 (35%D — 56%R) Democrat: John Simmons of Burbank. Republicans: Incumbent Carlos Moorhead of Glendale and David Headrick of Pasadena. Libertarian: Ten Brown of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Shirley Isaacson of Los Angeles.

There are two or three other districts in the state that have more Republicans in them than does this one that represents the Glendale and San Gabriel Valley areas north of Los Angeles. But we doubt that eight-term incumbent Moorhead cares. He got 74 percent of the vote two years ago, and 85 percent the time before that. He should be somewhere in that neighborhood again this year. For him, it's a very comfortable neighborhood.

District 23 (53% D — 37% R) Democrats: Incumbent Anthony Beilenson of Tarzana and Val Marmillion of Los Angeles. Republican: Jim Salomon of Beverly Hills. Libertarian: John Vernon of Van Nuys. Peace and Freedom: John Honigsfeld of Los Angeles.

A marginal Democratic district, which includes some of Los Angeles' west side, Beverly Hills, Malibu along the Pacific Ocean, and Encino in the San Fernando Valley. Republicans keep making noises about how they just might challenge the 12-year incumbent Beilenson. The only problem: He keeps getting more and more of the vote. Four years ago, he won 66 percent while Reagan collected 53 percent. Well, maybe another year.

District 24 (58%D — 29%R) Democrat: Incumbent Henry Waxman of Los Angeles. Republicans: Sol Annenberg and John Cowles, both of Los Angeles, and Dean De Gruccio of Studio City. Libertarian: George Abrahams of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: James Green of Los Angeles.

After being ignored by the Republicans two years ago, Henry Waxman, for some inexplicable reason, has drawn three Republican contenders this year. But Waxman will doubtless have little trouble retaining the loyalty of his westside constituents, which should give him plenty of time to dabble in elections in other districts.

District 25 (69%D — 21%R) Democrat: Incumbent Edward Roybal of Los Angeles. Libertarian John Thie of Pasadena. Peace and Freedom: Raul Reyes of Los Angeles.

Twenty-six years. That's how many 72-year-old incumbent Edward Roybal has spent in Congress. The Republicans finally got the hint. They aren't bothering to contest his next two years in office.

District 26 (57%D — 34%R) Democrat: Incumbent Howard Berman of Los Angeles. Republican: G. C. Broderson of Los Angeles.

The the other partner in the "Waxman-Berman" machine that runs west Los Angeles politics has a safe district in the San Fernando Valley that regularly provides him with about 65 percent of the vote. Just to be sure, though, he usually outspends opponents by about 20-1.

District 27 (54%D — 35%R) Democrats: Incumbent Mel Levine of Los Angeles and Ralph Cole of Los Angeles. Republican: Dennis Galbraith of Redondo Beach. Libertarian: William Fulco of Venice.

In the last two elections, Republicans offered former Los Angeles Rams running back Rob Scribner as an opponent for Levine. Four years ago, he came close and Levine squeeked by with only 53 percent of the vote. Two years ago, Scribner spent nearly $400,000 trying to beat Levine, who improved his performance with 64 percent of the vote. This year, Republican Galbraith will not have such impressive support, and Levine will likely have his fourth term in Congress.

District 28 (72%D — 19%R) Democrat: Incumbent Julian Dixon of Inglewood. Republican: George Zaldivar Adams of Inglewood. Libertarian: Howard Johnson of Los Angeles; Peace and Freedom: Salomea Honigsfeld of Los Angeles.

Poor Julian Dixon had to give up some Democrats during the 1982 reapportionment to help his neighbors. Now he has only the second most Democratic district in the state. As a result, he has little to fear from Republican Adams.

District 29 (83%D — 11%R) Democrats: Incumbent Augustus Hawkins, and Mervin Evans, both of Los Angeles. Republican: Reuben Franco of Studio City. Libertarian: Gregory Gilmore of El Segundo.

This is the state's most Democratic district. And it's held by 80-year-old Gus Hawkins, looking for his 13th term in Congress. The only thing standing in his way is fellow Democrat Evans, who's making the primary challenge against Hawkins for the third time. Only problem is, he got 9 percent of the vote the first time and only 7 per cent last time. Still, he's got about as good a chance of beating Hawkins as Republican Franco.

District 30 (59%D — 31%R) Democrats: Matthew Martinez of Montebello and Lily Chen of Monterey Park. Republicans: Robert Kowell of Alhambra, Mike Radlovic of Alhambra and Ralph Ramirez of Monterey Park. American Independent: Houston Myers of San Gabriel. Libertarian: Kim Goldsworthy of Rosemead.

On paper, this should be an easy district for incumbent Martinez to hold. But it hasn't been and it looks like things could be tough again. For one thing, Martinez is not the most dynamic of representatives, for another he faces a formidable primary challenge from Lily Chen. The Waxman-Berman organization, which engineered Martinez' political climb by helping him oust Jack Fenton from the Assembly as part of Berman's challenge to then-speaker Leo McCarthy, will need to pull out all the stops to keep Martinez in office.

District 31 (71%D — 20%R) Democrats: Incumbent Mervyn Dymally of Compton and

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Colin Kilpatrick O'Brien of Gardena. Republican: Arnold May of Bellflower. Peace and Freedom: B. Kwaku Duren of Long Beach.

Mervin Dymally's opponent two years ago held him to only 70 percent of the vote. That will give businessman May something to shoot at, since victory is out of the question.

District 32 (56%D — 34%R) Democrat: Incumbent Glenn Anderson of Hawthorne. Republicans: Lionel Allen Jr. of Inglewood and Sanford Kahn of Long Beach. Libertarian Marc Denny of Hermosa Beach. Peace and Freedom: Vikki Murdock of Lakewood.

Incumbent Anderson has made this district solidly his in the years since reapportionment, when much of it was new territory. He hasn't had a serious challenge in six years when he beat Brian Lungren, brother of congressman and state Treasurer-nominee Dan Lungren. However, this year he does face Lionel Allen, the wandering candidate. This is the third time Allen has run for Congress, each time from a different district. Four years ago he lost to Levine, two years ago to Dixon. Now he can lose to Anderson.

District 33 (43%D — 48%R) Democrats: Nelson Gentry of Pomona, and John Kraft of Hacienda Heights. Republican: Incumbent David Dreier of Covina. Libertarian: Gail Lightfoot of San Dimas. Peace and Freedom: Mike Noonan of Claremont.

Dreier's solid lock on this Republican district is made all the more secure by the fact that he has a campaign war chest of more than $1 million.

District 34 (61%D — 30%R) Democrat: Incumbent Estaban Torres of La Puente. Republican: Charles House of Hacienda Heights. Libertarian Marty Swinney of Pico Rivera.

Sheriff's Sergeant House is back for his second run at Torres, who beat him by getting 60 percent of the vote last time. This district is solidly Democratic, and 47 percent Hispanic. There's no reason Torres won't repeat.

District 35 (39%D — 50%R) Democrats: Barry Norton of Montclair and Paul Sweeney of Barstow. Republican: Incumbent Jerry Lewis of Redlands. Libertarian: Jeff Shuman of Industry.

Jerry Lewis now has 10 years behind him in Congress, a good spot on the Appropriations Committee and is chairman of the House Republican Research Committee. Although he once was eager to run for statewide office, Lewis has pretty much given up that idea. Now about his only distraction

GOP free-for-all in the 40th

Baker

Rosenberg

Cox

The scramble to replace Congressman Robert Badham is a feast for political junkies, a bonanza for campaign consultants and a headache for Orange County GOP leaders. Eighteen candidates have rushed into the vacuum created by the Newport Beach Republican's decision not to seek reelection in his 40th Congressional District. Only in 1982, when 21 people ran for the seat won by Congressman Ron Packard, a Carlsbad Republican, have more candidates sought a California congressional seat.

The crowded field, candidates agree, means that the winner of the June 7th primary could receive as little as 20 percent of the vote. One candidate, Irvine Councilman David Baker, jokes that "someone with a large family probably could win." Another, Tustin Councilman John Kelly, counts his 11 siblings as a major campaign asset.

The coastal-area 40th is the state's most Republican congressional district — registered GOP voters outnumber Democrats almost 2-to-1 — so victory in the GOP primary widely is considered tantamount to winning the seat. That has attracted 14 candidates, including two who moved back to Orange County from Washington, D.C., and one from Livermore. Two Democrats, a Libertarian and a member of the Peace and Freedom Party also are running.

The free-for-all developed after Republican state Senator Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach, the only local GOP figure popular enough to run as the odds-on favorite, opted not to seek the post.

Already the battle has become expensive. "We certainly are past the $1 million mark," said Orange County GOP Chairman Tom Fuentes. "Probably we are moving into the millions. Realistically, I think $300,000 or $400,000 would merely be the ante to get into the game." He and other party leaders lament that such sums will be diverted from the GOP's bid to win control of the state Assembly.

The difficulty of standing out in the minds of the 40th's 192,000 registered Republicans may soon reduce most of the GOP pack to also-rans. "My supposition," Fuentes said, "is that three or four people will emerge that will have the money to deliver their message and ... be real contenders."

The early front-runners include:

- Newport Beach businessman Nathan Rosenberg, 35, who got 34 percent of the vote against Badham in the 1986 GOP primary and already was gearing up to run again when Badham said he was retiring. Within a day, Rosenberg unveiled backing from major local developers, announced a $1000-per-person fund-raiser and opened a campaign headquarters. Rosenberg has raised more than $400,000 and says he is prepared to spend up to $1.6 million. Substantial amounts are coming from people associated with the projects of his brother — *est* movement leader Werner Erhard. That, plus his willingness to mount hard-hitting challenges to party incumbents, have alienated party regulars.
- Baker, backed by Badham, Orange County Supervisor Thomas Riley, Assemblyman Nolan Frizzelle of Huntington Beach, industrialist Arnold Beckman and executives in the Irvine Company, Orange county's largest land owner and developer. He is emerging as the favorite of the local corporate establishment. Baker is stressing his background in dealing with local problems such as transportation, child care, budget management and drug abuse. He has raised nearly $100,000 so far and said he is prepared to raise up to $750,000.
- Newport Beach attorney Christopher Cox, former White House senior assistant counsel. Endorsed by former federal Judge Robert Bork (whose nomination by President Reagan to the U.S. Supreme Court was rejected), Cox bills himself as the representative of the conservative movement that elected Reagan in 1980. He also is backed by state Senator Ed Royce of Anaheim.

Lack of money, experience and major endorsements could prevent the other GOP candidates from being taken seriously as contenders. Peer Swan of Irvine, a local water district and sewer official, who is the only GOP moderate in the race, probably has the best chance to do so. One candidate, Costa Mesa City Councilman Peter Buffa, has already withdrawn in favor of Baker.

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is seeing if he can get his brother elected to the Assembly. Certainly the challenge from Norton or Sweeney won't bother him much.

District 36 (55%D — 36%R) Democrats: Incumbent George Brown Jr. of Riverside and James Sparks of Riverside. Republicans: Cook Barela of Riverside, Dorothy Davis of Claremont, Doug Graham of Riverside, Robert Kerns of Riverside and John Paul Stark of San Bernardino. American Independent: Fred Anderson of Ontario. Libertarian: Kenneth Valentine of Alta Loma.

Republicans continue to gain ground in this fast-changing district in the west part of Riverside and San Bernardino counties. For years now, the GOP has figured it can pick off liberal George Brown. But each time he has held them off, although two years ago it cost him more than $500,000 to do it. Back to make a fourth challenge to Brown is religious fundamentalist John Paul Stark, who sat out the 1986 elections but came pretty close to beating Brown in 1980 and 1982. Republicans could well try again in this district, if for no other reason than there aren't that many other attractive districts.

District 37 (44%D — 47%R) Democrats: Paul Boyajian of Mira Loma, and Johnny Pearson of Perris. Republicans: Incumbent Al McCandless of Palm Desert, and Bud Mathewson of Banning. Libertarian: Bonnie Flickinger of Moreno Valley.

The thing that ought to make Al McCandless feel good this year is the appointment of state Senator Robert Presley to be head of the Senate Appropriations Committee. Maybe now Presley will stop thinking about running for Congress. Presley is about the only one who could blast McCandless out of this securely Republican seat that includes the Riverside County desert, part of the city of Riverside and the wealthy Palm Springs area. He certinly won't be severely challenged by perennial candidate Mathewson in his own primary or by either of the Democrats in November.

District 38 (48%D — 42%R) Democrat: Jerry Yudelson of Santa Ana. Republican: Incumbent Robert Dornan of Garden Grove. Libertarian: Bruce McKay of Garden Grove. Peace and Freedom: Frank German of Long Beach.

Democrats took their best shot at "B-1 Bob" two years ago when he was challenged by former Assemblyman Richard Robinson, who spent more than $580,000 in a losing effort. Of course, Dornan spent nearly $1.2 million, which is a whole lot more than he will have to spend to beat business executive Yudelson.

District 39 (34%D — 57%R) Democrat: Don Marquis of Woodland Hills. Republicans: Incumbent William Dannemeyer of Fullerton and John Gullixson of Yorba Linda. Libertarian: Lee Connelly of Buena Park.

This is the second most Republican district in the state, and it apparently is happy with its showboating congressman who tried to move up to the U. S. Senate by running against a stuffed turkey he called "Rosie" and now is trying to boost his career further by being the state's foremost alarmist about AIDS. Yet in spite of, or maybe because of, his drop-your-pants style of representation, this district regularly gives Dannemeyer 75 percent of the vote.

District 40 (31%R — 59%D) Democrats: Lida Lenney of Laguna Beach and George Henry Margolis of Costa Mesa. Republicans: Dave Baker of Irvine, Peter Buffa of Costa Mesa, Christopher Cox of Santa Ana, Charles DeVore of Laguna Hills, John Hylton of Costa Mesa, John Kelly of Tustin, Adam Kiernik of Huntington Beach, Patricia Gunter Kishel of Laguna Hills, Kathleen Latham of Irvine, Nathan Rosenberg of Costa Mesa, Larry Sternberg of Santa Ana, Peer Swan of Tustin, Dave Williams of Livermore, and William Yacobozzi Jr. of Newport Beach. Libertarian: Roger Bloxham of Newport Beach. Peace and Freedom: Gretchen Farsai of Irvine.

Okay, there are 14 Republican candidates for this open congressional seat. And with good reason. There are more Republicans in this district than any other in the state. The candidate who wins the GOP primary here can expect a long, safe tenure in Congress. The seat comes open because Robert Badham is retiring after 12 years in the House. The early line gives an advantage to Rosenberg, brother of est founder Werner Erhard, or Irvine council man Baker. But with so many contenders in the race, most anything could happen. (see story page 198.)

District 41 (38%D — 48%R) Democrat: Dan Kripke of La Jolla. Republicans: Incumbent Bill Lowery of San Diego and Rick Singer of San Diego. Libertarian: Dick Rider of San Diego. Peace and Freedom: C. T. Weber of San Diego.

San Diego and Bill Lowery are getting along well together. The incumbent now has a spot on the Appropriations Committee, where he can keep an eye on that city's military installations. He should have no trouble winning his fourth term in the House.

District 42 (37%D — 53%R) Democrats: Dan Farrell of Sunset Beach, Guy Kimbrough of Huntington Beach, and Ada Unruh of Torrance. Republicans: Tom Bauer of Torrance, Jeffery Burns of Huntington Beach, Don Davis of Palos Verdes Estates, Steve Horn of Long Beach, Andrew Littlefair of Torrance, Dana Rohrabacher of Los Angeles; Robert Welbourn of Torrance, and Harriett Wieder of Huntington Beach. Peace and Freedom: Richard Rose.

Things were a trifle uncertain in this Long Beach-based district for some time because no one knew what was going to happen to incumbent Dan Lungren, who has been nominated by Governor Deukmejian to be state treasurer. Would Lungren run for reelection or not? The uncertainty was enough to drive Assemblyman Gerry Felando from the race after he earlier bullied out fellow Republican Assemblyman Dennis Brown. With these two heavy-hitters out, the prognosis for the seat is less certain. But the early favorite appears to be Orange County Supervisor Wieder, a good campaigner with solid name identification in part of the district that's in her county. But more than half the district's Republicans live in Los Angeles County, and that leaves plenty of votes to be harvested by the other seven Republicans in this contest. The winner of that primary is almost a sure bet to be elected in November.

District 43 (31%D — 56%R) Democrat: Howard Greenebaum of Leucadia. Republican: Incumbent Ron Packard of Oceanside. Libertarian: Daniel Muhe of Carlsbad.

Incumbent Ron Packard will always be known for his one great electoral feat, winning the 1982 Republican primary on a write-in campaign in this district that covers the northern part of San Diego County and the southern part of Orange County. Since then it's all been downhill with Democrats never managing to win more than 24 percent of this district's vote.

District 44 (56%D — 32%R) Democrat: Incumbent Jim Bates of San Diego. Republicans: Luis Acle and Rob Butterfield, both of San Diego. Libertarian: Dennis Thompson of San Diego.

This is the Democratic part of San Diego, where the voters are more working class and 28 percent of the population is Hispanic. It's a district that seems happy with its independent-minded incumbent, Jim Bates, and regularly returns him to office with margins far in excess of Democratic registration. Republicans two years ago thought they might have a chance when they ran a former San Diego deputy mayor against Bates. But he still garnered 64 percent of the vote and hopes are not that high for either Acle or Butterfield.

District 45 (38%D — 49%R) Democrat: Pete Lepiscopo of Coronado. Republican: Incumbent Duncan Hunter of Coronado. Libertarian: Perry Willis of Santee.

Three-term incumbent Duncan Hunter regularly manages to get more votes in this solidly-Republican district than even Ronald Reagan.

SENATE

District 1 (47%D — 42%R) Democrat: Roy Whiteaker of Yuba City. Republican: Incumbent John Doolittle of Citrus Heights.

John Doolittle never has an easy time of it. It started when he had the temerity in 1980 to run against the beloved incumbent Al Rodda and beat him. Then he was reapportioned out of his district and forced to run an extra campaign against Leroy Greene. He lost, but stayed, district-less, in the Senate. Finally he got his own district — which spans the sparsely-populated counties in the northeast part of the state but dives into Sacramento County in a squiggle known as the "Doolittle Dip" to pick up the senator's home. Unfortunately, the incumbent who had that seat, Republican Ray Johnson, wasn't ready to retire. Johnson challenged him as an independent, but Doolittle won that race, too. Now, after eight years in the Senate, he is being challenged by Sutter County Sheriff Whiteaker, who promises to be a formidable foe in November. Even so, Doolittle, who is said to harbor statewide ambitions, should be able to hold on to this seat, which is solidly Republican.

District 3 (58%D — 26%R) Democrat: Incumbent Milton Marks of San Francisco. Republican: Carol Marshall of San Francisco. Libertarian: Mark Pickens of San Francisco. Peace and Freedom: Ron Rodriguez of San Francisco.

This is the first time Milton Marks will be able to run as a Democrat. And it must be a relief for him, because that party has always held the edge in this San Francisco-based district that also takes in Marin County. But Marks is a tireless campaigner and even as a Republican four years ago, he colleced 68 percent of the vote. Can you imagine what he'll get now?

District 5 (54%D — 37%R) Democrat: Incumbent John Garamendi of Walnut Grove. Republican: Sam Lawrence of Stockton.

Garamendi always has to be on his toes in this Gold Rush-area district that includes Sierra foothill

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Boatwright-McPeak: the challenge from within

Boatwright

McPeak

The power brokers told her not to do it; she says the people told her "yes." So, Contra Costa County Supervisor Sunne McPeak is following what she believes is the people's advice, seemingly against all odds, by running against entrenched incumbent Democratic state Senator Dan Boatwright of Concord in their party's primary.

The first question on anyone's mind is why? Why would she run in such a tough race when she probably only had four more years to wait? Certainly Boatwright and Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti did everything they could to keep her from doing it. But a number of Democrats, led by Assemblyman Bob Campbell, a Richmond Democrat who had sights on Boatwright's seat himself, urged her on.

In their eyes, Boatwright's accomplishments on behalf of the 7th Senate District simply aren't enough. They want a more Democratic Democrat in the seat, and Boatwright is so conservative in many ways that, as one senator said flat out, "He's a Republican (but don't quote me; I have to go along with David)."

Boatwright likes to be labeled a conservative on fiscal and law-and-order issues, and he has had plenty of GOP support in his home area. He also likes to brag that he is close enough to Governor George Deukmejian to get legislation through and, as happened last year, to keep the governor from vetoing a funding item for mentally-retarded programs in Boatwright's district while all other such items were scratched.

But McPeak and especially Campbell feel a conservative like Boatwright is not serving many of the "people" needs of the county. Campbell considered running himself, but while he enjoys steady support in his Assembly district, his own poll showed he was probably too liberal to win in the Senate district, which includes most of the county. The area has gone back and forth between the parties for years. Boatwright succeeded moderate Republican John Nejedly in the Senate seat and another Republican in the Assembly seat he held before that.

McPeak and Boatwright have some similarities. As is required for any politician coming out of Contra Costa County, both are known for fighting to protect Northern California water supplies and the San Joaquin River Delta. McPeak was instrumental in bringing about the defeat of the Peripheral Canal in 1982, and the northern coalition she founded has been helpful in keeping anti-Delta legislation from being passed. Boatwright, on the other hand, scored a coup when Senate buddies helped him appear to break the water-war deadlock by quickly passing Delta levee-repair legislation this year. The bill had been held hostage for years by the water interests.

But there is no love lost between Boatwright and McPeak, especially since October 1981. While Boatwright was touring Southern California seeking support for a possible run for lieutenant governor, McPeak and Campbell rounded up a force of Contra Costa mayors and city council members to announce their support for Leo McCarthy, with the kickoff event in Boatwright's home town.

Democraticness may be a fine point lost on many of the district's voters. Boatwright appears to have a good edge based on his lengthy list of accomplishments on behalf of the district. He's helped most of the shoreline towns by getting money for marinas. He's helped get funding for major freeway projects in a county beset with growth problems. He's also helped financially troubled school districts, protected land proposed for a state university, added land to Mt. Diablo State Park and on and on. First elected as mayor of Concord, the county's largest city, in 1966, he has been in the public eye ever since.

McPeak, also from Concord, has the disadvantage of being closer to the electorate and in office long enough, since 1978, to have made enemies and mistakes which Boatwright is expected to play on. But her grassroots following is hard core and enthusiastic, especially among women. Even though Boatwright asserts he, too, supports women's causes, most women will be with McPeak who has fought hard on issues such as child care and pay equity. She's also noted for innovative proposals to help fund county deficits and to try to compensate for the traffic brought in by developments she has often supported.

Boatwright has a big edge in campaign organization, with Willie Brown's former chief of staff, Richie Ross, as head honcho. The effect of Ross was visible immediately. One of the first things he had Boatwright do was retract the public threat he had made to "get" McPeak if she ran against him. As soon as Ross came on board, Boatwright held a press conference "welcoming" McPeak to the race and saying he only said those things to try to keep her out of it. He'll run a clean campaign, he said.

The first few weeks of McPeak's campaign were being handled by local talent, headed by former state Young Democrats president Melody Howe-Weintraub, whose firm — Winning Results — has had a number of local successes. But the campaign has shown a lack of organization, and local observers question whether McPeak can handle the likes of Richie Ross without outside help.

Ross says he'll run a strong grassroots campaign, similar to the one which helped him bring Art Agnos from underdog to winner of the San Francisco mayoral race. In that, he appears to be trying to steal McPeak's own modus operandi. She won her supervisorial seat against all odds, mustering an army of local supporters who flooded the district. Each has had early successes. McPeak won the local Democratic Party endorsing caucus, and Boatwright, who has not been as close to the rank and file party members as she has, chose not to challenge that at the state convention in March. McPeak also won the Central Labor Council endorsement, while Boatwright has garnered several individual unions. They seem to be splitting the local Democratic Party office holders, with a third element trying to remain neutral. Most of them appear to be working hard not to let the antagonism between the two principals reflect on their working relationships.

And if you ask a sampling of them who will win, most will say, "Boatwright." But while they don't expect McPeak will upset him, many of them won't be surprised if she does.

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counties east of San Joaquin River Delta. Although marginally Democratic, the district is quite willing to vote for a Republican. Four years ago while it was giving Garamendi 69 percent of the vote, it was also giving 57 percent of the vote to Ronald Reagan. Still, law enforcment officer Lawrence has an uphill climb to unseat Garamendi, and Republicans probably will be distracted elsewhere in the state.

District 7 (54%D — 35%R) Democrats: Incumbent Daniel Boatwright and Sunne Wright McPeak, both of Concord. Republican: William Pollacek of Martinez.

For a legislator who is so bright and aggressive, Boatwright has had a tough year. First he got a little too pushy as chairman of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee, alienating some his colleagues in the Senate. Then he convinced Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti that he wanted to advance still further. That resulted in him losing the plumb job. Then Contra Costa County Supervisor Sunne McPeak, who has been waiting for a chance to advance, got tired of waiting. She will put together a strong challenge to Boatwright based on a large grass-roots organization. Boatwright, on the other hand, has a big financial advantage and, perversely, the support of Roberti, who must come to his aid under the code that says all incumbents must be backed. The winner here, even though bloodied, should have the advantage in November against Martinez Councilman Pollacek. (See story, page 200)

District 9 (66%D — 22%R) Democrats: Incumbent Nicholas Petris and Hector Reyna, both of Oakland. Republicans, Wilbert Sean Heagney of Moraga, Greg Henson of Emeryville and Vernon Lee Spaulding of Oakland. Peace and Freedom: Bob Evans of Berkeley.

Nick Petris has been representing Oakland and the Democratic areas of the East Bay in the Legislature for 30 years, including 22 years in the Senate. There isn't a single reason why he won't go on for another four.

District 11 (45%D — 42%R) Democrat: Bob Mack Jr. of Palo Alto. Republican: Incumbent Becky Morgan of Los Altos Hills. Libertarian: Chuck Olson of Palo Alto.

First-term Senator Becky Morgan had to beat three former senators to win office the first time in this wealthy Silicon Valley district that usually favors moderate to liberal Republicans. That's just what Morgan is, and she's had by most accounts a fairly successful tenure in the Senate. But Senate leaders are nervous, and they expect to have to put on a full-fledged campaign to make sure that Morgan holds her seat against teacher and management consultant Mack.

District 13 (55%D — 31%R) Democrat: Incumbent Alfred Alquist of San Jose. Republican Dan Bertolet of Mountain View. Libertarian John Inks of Mountain View.

Al Alquist will turn 80 this summer, but he shows no signs of tiring of his job in the state Senate, where he's found a home for 22 years and now is the head of the Senate Budget Committee. Republicans might one day make a serious challenge in this district, but it will be after Alquist is gone.

District 15 (53%D — 39%R) Democrat: Incumbent Rose Ann Vuich of Dinuba.

Governor George Deukmejian is mad at Rose Vuich because she wouldn't vote for Dan Lungren to be state treasurer. There were even some noises that he would go down to the Central Valley to campaign against Vuich. One small problem, the Republicans forgot to field a candidate. It wouldn't have made any difference; they love Rose down there.

District 17 (53%D — 34%R) Democrat: Incumbent Henry Mello of Watsonville. Republican: Harry Damkar of Hollister.

Henry Mello is a nervous man. He knows that his district is only marginal for a Democrat and Mello's position as the swing vote on the Senate Rules Committee sometimes gives him too high a profile on some controversial issues Mello sometimes wishes would go away. His opponent this year is the San Benito District Attorney, Harry Damkar, who will be no pushover. Fortunately for Mello, San Benito County only has about 13,000 of the district's 288,000 voters.

District 19 (38%D — 52%R) Democrat: Andy Martin of Newhall. Republican: Incumbent Ed Davis of Northridge. Libertarian: Aaron Starr of Simi Valley.

Ed Davis has stopped making noises about running for higher office and has settled down to become an effective and independent senator for this district, which represents the wealthy western end of the San Fernando Valley, half of Ventura County and even a bit of Santa Barbara County. He should have little trouble winning his third term in the Senate.

District 21 (35%D — 56%R) Democrat: Louise Gelber of Arcadia. Republican: Newton Russell of Glendale. Libertarian: Robert Scott of Pasadena. Peace and Freedom: Michael Blumenthal of Pasadena.

There are a few incumbents up for re-election that the Repubicans have to worry about. Newt Russell isn't one of them.

District 23 (58%D — 30%R) Democrat: Incumbent David Roberti of Hollywood. Republicans: Tom Larkin of West Hollywood, Alannia Elizabeth Michael of Beverly Hills, and E. Jan Roberts of Glendale. Libertarian: Sarah Foster of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Elizabeth Nakano of Los Angeles.

What David Roberti really had to worry about was a challenge from within his own party. For awhile, feminist lawyer Gloria Allred was talking about making the challenge. She could attack Roberti for his anti-abortion position. But Allred backed away and Roberti now will only have to contend with one of the three Republicans who want to make the suicide run in this solidly Democratic district.

District 25 (39%D — 51%R) Democrats: James Cook of Azusa, Sandra Hester of Claremont, and Cal McElwain of Upland. Republicans: Bill Leonard of Redlands and Gene Osko of Glendora.

H. L. "Bill" Richardson is retiring after 22 years in the Senate, making this one of two open Senate seats this year. The entire contest will probably take place in the primary. This is solid Republican territory that includes all the rural areas of San Bernardino County, Inyo County and the eastern portion of Los Angeles County. Much of the area has been represented in the Assembly by Bill Leonard, who has gained a reputation as a hard-working and independent conservative. The other Republican assemblymen who represent part of this area, Bill Lancaster and Chuck Bader, stepped aside for Leonard, who long has wanted to move to the upper house. His challenge comes from the Los Angeles portion of the district where retired Judge Gene Osko is waging a noisy, if underfinanced, campaign. Assuming Leonard's better financed campaign is successful, he most likely will face either former San Bernardino Supervisor McElwain or college administrator Hester in a runoff.

District 27 (85%D — 9%R) Democrats: Incumbent Bill Greene of Los Angeles, and James Phillip Smith of Compton. Republicans: Victor Brown and Johnnie Neely of Los Angeles, both of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Jeffrey Mahlon Artz of Bell.

It would be hard to put any more Democrats into one district. Greene got 88 percent of the vote here four years ago, beating Neely, who's back for another try, although it's hard to figure out why.

District 29 (41%D — 48%R) Democrats: Jack Hachmeister of Manhattan Beach and Frank Wong of El Segundo. Republican: Incumbent Robert Beverly of Redondo Beach. Libertarian: Steve Kelley of Hermosa Beach.

The beach-side communities along southern Los Angeles County have been good to Bob Beverly. They've given him 12 years in the state Senate and eight in the Assembly. Although he probably wanted to spend the next few years as state Treasurer, the nod went elsewhere and Beverly will most likely be back for another four-year term as senator.

District 31 (37%D — 54%R) Democrats: Stan Caress of W. Covina and Janice Lynn Graham of Laguna Hills. Republican: Incumbent William Campbell of Hacienda Heights.

Another Republican senator who wanted statewide office. It's been a rough few years for Campbell, who first got bounced out by his caucus as Senate minority leader then was the unsuccessful candidate in 1986 for state controller and finally failed to get the governor to name him state treasurer. Now, he'll go back to his constitutents in this very Republican portion of Orange and Los Angeles counties for a fourth term in the Senate. Barring something strange, this time the results will be more to his liking.

District 33 (54%D — 38%R) Democrat: Incumbent Cecil Green of Norwalk. Republicans: Don Knabe of Cerritos and Margaret Vineyard of Downey.

This marginally-Democratic district on the border of Los Angeles and Orange counties last year was the scene of the most expensive legislative race ever conducted in California. Some $3 million was spent by the time Cecil Green defeated Assemblyman Wayne Grisham in a special election. Now Green is going to have to defend his job after just a year in office. This time he most likely will face Cerritos Councilman Knabe, who many thought should have been his opponent last time. Knabe wanted to make the race then, but was talked out of it by Republican leaders in the interest of harmony. Grisham turned out to be a poor candidate, and now his Assembly job may be in jeopardy as well. This is a working-class, middle-income area that had been represented for years by Paul Carpenter before he moved to the state Board of Equalization. Union membership is still important here, and the unions played a big part in Green's victory last year. They will have to come through again, if he hopes to hold on to his seat. Look for another million to be spent this year.

District 35 (34%D — 56%R) Democrat: Mike Balmages of Santa Ana. Republican: Incumbent John Seymour of Anaheim. Peace and Freedom: Maxine Bell Quirk of Orange.

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Seymour raises lots of money for the GOP. But he shouldn't have to spend much of it to be reelected in this district, which has the second highest Republican registration of any in the state.

District 37 (34%D — 56%R) Democrat: Pat McCabe of Huntington Beach. Republican: Incumbent Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach. Libertarian: J. Mark Sugars of Irvine.
Marian Bergeson faced her toughest election decision earlier this year when she decided against running for Congress. Now she's back for a second term in the Senate and probably will improve on the 74 percent of the vote she got four years ago in this Orange County district, which has a higher percentage of registered Republicans than any in the state.

District 39 (38%D — 49%R) Democrat: Benita Berkson of San Diego. Republican: Larry Stirling of San Diego. Libertarian: George Hall of San Diego.
This is an open Senate seat thanks to the retirement of Jim Ellis. But it sure doesn't seem that way. Stirling declared for the spot quickly and elbowed other possible Republicans out of the way. Certainly real estate broker Berkson won't stand in his way.

ASSEMBLY

District 1 (49% D — 40% R) Democrat: Arlie Caudle of Hayfork. Republican: Incumbent Stan Statham of Oak Run.
Statham is one of two Republicans to chair an Assembly policy committee; in Statham's case, Government. Efficiency and Consumer Protection. Caudle ran against Statham in 1986 and managed less than 30 percent of the vote.

District 2 (57% D — 31% R) Democrat: Incumbent Dan Hauser of Arcata. Republican: Rhea King of Rohnert Park.
Hauser's toughest political battles are behind him for now. Republicans tried to knock him off in 1984 by pairing him against a popular county supervisor. Hauser survived. In 1986 there was still enough incentive to lure a Eureka city councilman into the Republican primary. His opponent this time, Rhea King, lists herself a "financial planner and waitress."

District 3 (45% D — 44% R) Democrats: Bruce Conklin of Grass Valley and Wayne Harrison of Marysville. Republican: Incumbent Chris Chandler of Yuba City. Libertarian: Mark Sweany of Chico.
The Democratic primary will not produce the kind of colorful candidate who carried the party's banner in 1986 — the late Floyd "Bud" Marsh, a Williams rancher who sported 10-gallon hats and an earthy, straightforward outlook on life. Chandler has been a quiet freshman legislator whose most difficult campaign was the 1986 GOP primary. He'll coast through this election.

District 4 (56% D — 31% R) Democrat: Incumbent Tom Hannigan of Fairfield. Republican: John Ford of Dixon.
As majority leader, Tom Hannigan has to spend a lot of energy these days helping Willie Brown keep his faltering speakership intact. Fortunately for Hannigan, he doesn't need much of that energy for his own reelection.

District 5 (50% D — 40% R) Democrat: John Byouk of Roseville. Republican: Incumbent Tim Leslie of Citrus Heights.
Some observers think Byouk might have had a better chance of winning this district two years ago when it was an open seat. He ran in the Democratic primary but lost to Jack Dugan, a candidate handpicked by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. Dugan lost the general election to Leslie who now has the

Leslie

Byouk

advantage of incumbency and gains in Republican registration. Byouk is vice-mayor of Roseville in Placer County, where only 20 percent of district voters live.

District 6 (56% D — 34% R) Democrat: Incumbent Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento. Republican: Mike Gates of Sacramento.
Connelly has a more serious challenge this year from Gates, a deputy attorney general, than in past years; but not enough to worry the three-term incumbent.

District 7 (51% D — 39% R) Democrat: Incumbent Norm Waters of Plymouth. Republicans: Tim Cross of El Dorado Hills and David Knowles of Sacramento.
The growing chaos in the Assembly (see CJ, April 1988) may cause some discomfort for Waters if Democratic dissidents continue to join with Republicans to bring conservative legislation out of committees and onto the Assembly floor. Waters will be forced to vote with Republicans and against his own speaker — Willie Brown — on some of those bills. This discomfort could translate into trouble come November. Republicans think they can knock off the six-term incumbent and are encouraged by Governor Deukmejian's strong showing here in 1986 (71 percent of the vote). Their candidates, however, are political novices. Cross is but 20 years old; Knowles is a mortgage broker who plans an active fund-raising campaign. Although this largely rural foothill district remains marginal on paper, Waters is probably conservative enough to hold on to it.

District 8 (54% D — 37% R) Democrat: Bruce Ketron. Republican: Incumbent Bev Hansen. Peace and Freedom: John Marlow. All are from Santa Rosa.
Nothing that happens this year will be as hard on Bev Hansen as the election of 1986. First, she defeated a primary opponent backed by Assembly Republican leaders. Then, she knocked off a candidate backed by Assembly Democratic leaders. During her first term, Hansen has cultivated her district and should withstand any assault from Ketron, a Santa Rosa attorney.

District 9 (53% D — 34% R) Democrats: Paul Albritton of Sausalito and Francis Parnell of Ross. Republican: Incumbent Bill Filante of San Rafael.
Bill Filante, a five-term incumbent, always seems to face a strong reelection battle. In 1986 he scored an impressive victory over JoHanna Willmann, the mayor of Fairfax. The district, which includes Marin and southern Sonoma counties, is marginal for the GOP, although the district profile seems almost more Republican than Democratic: 93 percent White, 68 percent white-collar and a relatively affluent constituency. Plus, Filante is the Assembly's most moderate Republican. All this makes it difficult to unseat him. The Democratic candidates are natural enemies: Albritton is an attorney and Parnell a physician.

District 10 (57% D — 33% R) Democrat: Incumbent Phil Isenberg. Republicans: Larry Bowler and Dave McKinley. All are from Sacramento.
Republicans think they have a shot at unseating Isenberg, and cite 1986 votes for governor and the Supreme Court as evidence that the district is more conservative than the incumbent. Republican Bowler estimates he'll need $600,000 or more to oust Isenberg and has received encouragement from Assembly Republican leaders. Still, registration numbers can't be encouraging for the GOP. Democrats outnumber Republicans two-to-one in both the Sacramento and Contra Costa county portions of this Delta district. Isenberg, the former mayor of Sacramento, is a three- term incumbent.

District 11 (64% D — 25% R) Democrat: Incumbent Bob Campbell of Richmond. Republican: Dave Williams of Pittsburg.
Campbell thought about running for the state Senate against fellow Democrat Dan Boatwright but decided the Senate district was too conservative to elect so staunch a liberal. Now Campbell faces his biggest challenge in the halls of the state Capitol where he returns to an increasingly conservative Assembly.

District 12 (62% D — 24% R) Democrat: Incumbent Tom Bates of Berkeley. Republican: Jerald Udinsky of Oakland. Peace and Freedom: Lawrance Phillips of Berkeley.
Bates and Udinsky squared off in 1986. Bates won by 60,000 votes.

District 13 (72% D — 16% R) Democrat: Incumbent Elihu Harris of Oakland. Republicans: Virginia Mangrum of Emeryville and Paulette Matthews of Oakland. Peace and Freedom: Elvis Dizon of San Francisco.
Matthews lost in the GOP primary in 1986. The candidate who beat her then lost to Harris three-to-one.

District 14 (64% D — 25% R) Democrat: Incumbent Johan Klehs. Republican: Elliott Eaton. Both are from San Leandro.
An East Bay district, centered around Hayward, where a third of the population works at blue-collar jobs and where Republican Eaton will need two or three zillion dollars to oust Klehs.

District 15 (37% D — 51% R) Democrat: Wendell Williams. Republican: Incumbent Bill Baker. Both are from Walnut Creek.
The Alameda County portion of this district is split evenly between Republicans and Democrats. Unfortunately for businessman Williams, Republicans outnumber Democrats by 30,000 voters in the Contra Costa County portion.

District 16 (69% D — 14% R) Democrats: Incumbent John Burton and Roberta Achtenberg. Republicans: Brian Mavrogeorge and Max Woods. Libertarian: George Meyer. Peace and Freedom: Melissa Ehman. All are from San Francisco.

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A political resurrection. Burton, who served San Francisco in the Assembly and in Congress for 18 years, made a political comeback in an April 12th special election to fill out the term of Art Agnos, who became mayor of San Francisco in January. Burton, who had political and financial support from Speaker Willie Brown, defeated Achtenberg by a comfortable margin and although her name remains on the primary ballot, she indicated that she will not pursue an active campaign against Burton.

District 17 (63% D — 19% R) Democrat: Incumbent Willie Brown Jr. Republicans: Curt Augustine and Dennis Mark. Peace and Freedom: Shoshana Towers. All are from San Francisco.

Willie Brown needs to worry about an election but not this one. After more than seven years as the Assembly's top banana, Brown is in danger of losing his grip on the speakership and whether he stays or goes will be decided during the 1988 elections. If Republicans gain ground, he goes. If the status quo is maintained, he probably goes. If Democrats pick up three or four seats, he probably stays. Of course, Dems have to pick up the right seats. Democratic dissidents in the Assembly — the Gang of Five — are supporting at least one opponent against a Brown-supported candidate in a district now held by Republicans. If the dissidents win that primary, and eventually unseat the Republican incumbent, the Gang of Five becomes the Gang of Six, and Brown's current headache becomes a migrane.

District 18 (54% D — 32% R) Democrat: Incumbent Delaine Eastin of Union City. Republicans: Kenneth Castillo and Tom Curry, both from Fremont.

Eastin has proved a crackerjack first-term incumbent who should have no problem retaining her seat.

District 19 (61% D — 26% R) Democrat: Incumbent Jackie Speier of South San Francisco. Republicans: Thomas Mastoris and Robert Silvestri, both of San Francisco. Peace and Freedom: Gene Pepi of South San Francisco.

Two years ago Speier overcame a primary opponent who had the financial backing of Willie Brown and a brother-in-law in the Assembly. She should have no comparable challenge this time.

District 20 (45% D — 43% R) Democrat: Ted Lempert of San Mateo. Republican: Incumbent William Duplissea of San Carlos. Libertarian: June Genis of Woodside.

An affluent, mostly White, mostly white-collar South Bay district that should never fall from the Republican column. Yet two years ago, Duplissea eked out a narrow victory over Ed Bacciocco, a San Mateo businessman, in an expensive battle over an open seat. As a first-term incumbent, Duplissea should have an easier time with Lempert, an attorney. Still, given Bacciocco's strong showing in 1986, and given the surprise nature of political campaigning, Democrats may read a tea leaf or two and pour money in to ambush Duplissea.

District 21 (53% D — 32% R) Democrat: Incumbent Byron Sher of Palo Alto. Libertarian: Bob Goodwyn of Sunnyvale.

This is not an overwhelming Democratic district. In fact, the demographics here resemble a Republican district: a median household income of nearly $24,000; a vast majority of White voters and a large white-collar work force. That no Republican came forward to challenge Byron Sher is a testiment to his bi-partisan popularity.

District 22 (41% D — 46% R) Democrat: Robin Yeamans. Republican: Incumbent Charles Quackenbush. Both are from Saratoga.

The interesting primary in this area is over the congressional seat now held by incumbent Ernie Konnyu.

District 23 (61% D — 27% R) Democrat: Incumbent John Vasconcellos. Republican: Lynn Knapp. Libertarian: Todd Greene. All are from San Jose.

Knapp, a deputy district attorney, lost to Vasconcellos two years ago by two-to-one.

District 24 (56% D — 32% R) Democrat: Incumbent Dom Cortese. Republicans: Buck Norred, Gil Rodriguez and Jack Sandoval. All are from San Jose.

Sandoval has lost to Cortese twice in the past, including 1986. Since then, Democrats have gained and Republicans have lost registration in the district.

District 25 (54% D — 35% R) Democrat: Incumbent Rusty Areias of Los Banos. Republicans: Angel Garcia Jr. of Salinas and Ben Gilmore of Morgan Hill. Libertarian: Mark Hinkle of San Jose.

Like many areas of the Central Valley, Republican registration should make this a marginal district. But there is nothing marginal about the incumbent's popularity, and being one of the Assembly's Gang of Five will only enhance his standing with area voters. Republican Gilmore ran against Areias in 1986, losing by 30,000 votes. Gilmore's pitch: He'll be no tool of Willie Brown. Now Areias has stolen his thunder.

District 26 (56% D — 36% R) Democrat: Incumbent Pat Johnston. Republican: William Correll. Both are from Stockton.

Republican registration is growing, but not enough to help Correll, the Stockton chief of police.

District 27 (55% D — 36% R) Democrat: Incumbent Gary Condit of Modesto.

Condit is one of the leaders of the so-called Gang of Five. That he is at odds with Willie Brown will only enhance his stature within his home district. Republicans failed to mount a challenge despite registration gains.

District 28 (53% D — 33% R) Democrat: Incumbent Sam Farr. Republican: Jack Skillicorn. Both are from Carmel.

Republican Skillicorn is Monterey County auditor-controller. Here's a number to digest: Four-term incumbent Farr ran 20 points ahead of registration in 1986 — his average for the past three elections.

District 29 (40% D — 47% R) Democrats: Jan Bradford of Santa Margarita and Chuck Comstock of Grover City. Republican: Incumbent Eric Seastrand of Salinas.

This coastal district runs from Monterey south to Santa Barbara County and is a haven for Republicans, who outnumber Democrats in all three of the district's counties.

District 30 (63% D — 29% R) Democrat: Incumbent Jim Costa of Fresno. Republican: Gerald Hurt of Hanford.

A relatively poor district where nearly half the people rent rather than own housing, where a third of the population is Latino, where nearly half the workers are engaged in blue-collar or agricultural jobs — and where Jim Costa will have an easy reelection.

District 31 (60% D — 34% R) Democrat: Incumbent Bruce Bronzan. Republican: Doug Haaland. Both are from Fresno.

Democratic registration gains over the past two years (up from 57 percent in 1986) reverses a long period of decline and gives three-term incumbent Bronzan a nice new cushion. As though he needed it.

District 32 (45% D — 46% R) Democrat: Aden Windham of Dunlap. Republican: Incumbent Bill Jones of Fresno.

Bill Jones ran unopposed in 1986. Democrat Windham, a teacher and retired Marine, won't pose much more of a challenge in 1988.

District 33 (52% D — 41% R) Democrat: Michael Powell. Republican: Incumbent Trice Harvey. Both are from Bakersfield.

Harvey survived something of an unusual primary in 1986: The GOP Assembly leadership first supported him, then trashed him after switching to his opponent. Harvey survived the primary, and a general election against a well-financed Democrat. He now has the advantage of incumbency, a free ride in the primary and a Democratic opponent not nearly as strong as two years ago. This should make him fairly safe, although the potential for an upset is hidden in the district's 30 percent Latino population and a strong labor influence; 45 percent of the work force is engaged in either agriculture or blue-collar jobs.

District 34 (44% D — 47% R) Democrat: Earl Wilson of Lancaster. Republican: Incumbent Phillip Wyman of Tehachapi. Libertarian: Bill Baucum of Independence.

Wyman has about as much worry about this year as in 1986 when he ran unopposed.

District 35 (48% D — 38% R) Democrat: Incumbent Jack O'Connell of Carpinteria. Libertarian: Bob Bakhaus of Santa Barbara.

No, the above slate is not a misprint. No Republican filed to run against O'Connell — an astounding development in a district where Democratic registration is less than 50 percent. Usually, that means a relatively safe Republican district. Instead, the Republicans have completely disappeared. The reason is O'Connell himself. Just about every weekend, he sets up a cardtable on a street corner somewhere in his district and talks to whatever constituents wander by his outpost. Someday, he ought to write a book on how to cultivate the home sod. He's done so well at it that Republicans can't even muster a challenge in what should be their district. If state Senator Gary Hart goes to Congress, look for O'Connell to seek to replace Hart next year. That will be a blow for Assembly Democrats, for another Democrat may not be able to hold the seat.

District 36 (39% D — 50% R) Democrat: George Webb II of Moorpark. Republican: Incumbent Tom McClintock of Thousand Oaks. Libertarian: H. Bruce Driscoll of Thousand Oaks.

A bold election-year prediction: McClintock wins in November.

District 37 (37% D — 52% R) Democrat: Jeffrey Marcus of Chatsworth. Republican: Incumbent Cathie Wright of Simi Valley. Libertarian: Michael Bachwansky of Leona Valley.

The district has a solid GOP profile: affluent, 91 percent White, 77 percent homeowner, 60 percent

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white collar. The Democratic opposition here is just window dressing.

District 38 (42% D — 49% R) Democrat: Mark Lit. Republican: Incumbent Marian LaFollette. Both are from Northridge.

Lit is back for another try at LaFollette after losing in 1986 by 35,000 votes. Lit is a member of the state's Senior Legislature, which could account for some electoral strength in a graying district where the median age is nearly 44 — provided area seniors bore some grudge against the incumbent. They don't.

District 39 (58% D — 34% R) Democrat: Incumbent Richard Katz of Panorama. Republican: Jim Rendleman of Northridge. Libertarian: Alexander Newton of Sylmar.

A youngish, middle-income district where 34 percent of the population is Latino and where 34 percent of the work force hold down blue-collar jobs. Attorney Rendleman has an uphill struggle to overcome four-term incumbent Katz, chairman of the Assembly Transportation Committee.

District 40 (55% D — 36% R) Democrat: Incumbent Tom Bane of Van Nuys. Republican: Bruce Dahl of Van Nuys. Libertarian: Michael Prah of North Hollywood.

Incumbent Bane, a 10-term incumbent, could lose his job as a result of the 1988 elections. No, not his seat; his job as chairman of the Assembly Rules Committee. Should Willie Brown lose the speakership, Bane likely will be replaced as chairman of Rules. As for his reelection, Republican Dahl lost the GOP primary two years ago to the candidate who eventually lost to Bane by a three-to-one margin.

District 41 (40% D — 51% R) Democrat: John Vollbrecht of Los Angeles. Republican: Incumbent Pat Nolan of Glendale. Libertarian: Curtis Helms of Pasadena. Peace and Freedom: Ivan Kasimoff of Altadena.

Nolan's problems this election season have nothing to do with Vollbrecht, whom he beat by 35,000 votes in 1986. Nolan is on the horns of a dilemma within the Assembly itself, prompted mostly by attacks against Speaker Willie Brown by dissident members of Brown's own party. Some more aggressive Republican members want Nolan to take full advantage of Brown's discomfort, even to the point of supporting efforts to oust the speaker. But Nolan as much as anyone has benefited from Brown's tenure — he's been allowed a free hand with his own caucus — and is loathe to turn on Brown before a clear-cut successor has emerged. If Brown is distracted by internal Assembly politics, his problems could create an election year boon for Nolan, provided the minority leader doesn't find himself caught in the undertow.

District 42 (39% D — 52% R) Democrat: Richard Boyle of Sierra Madre. Republican: Incumbent Richard Mountjoy of Arcadia.

The last Democrat to run against Mountjoy captured 28 percent of the vote. And that was back in 1984. Boyle, a screenwriter and author, should be able to accumulate grist for his writings from this campaign — and little else.

District 43 (54% D — 36% R) Democrat: Incumbent Terry Friedman of Sherman Oaks. Republicans: Edward Brown of Sherman Oaks and Tom Franklin of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Robert Leet of Tarzana. Peace and Freedom: Margery Hinds of Los Angeles.

An affluent district that is mostly White, and with a large elderly population. Friedman is a first-termer who has worked hard for his district and won't suffer from either Republican opponent.

District 44 (59% D — 30% R) Democrats: Incumbent Tom Hayden of Santa Monica, and Alex Cota and William Kurdi of Los Angeles. Republican: Gloria Stout of Pacific Palisades.

A round-up of the usual suspects. Cota has run against Hayden since 1984, managing 23 percent of the vote two years ago. Stout opposed Hayden in the 1986 general election, losing by 24,000 votes. No reason to think Cota or Stout will improve this time, leaving Hayden free to play upon a bigger stage — national and presidential politics.

District 45 (58% D — 30% R) Democrat: Incumbent Burt Margolin. Republican: David Frankel. Peace and Freedom: Julie Fausto. All are from Los Angeles.

Republican Frankel is a CPA. Here are a few numbers for him to play with: Over the past three elections, Margolin has won by margins of 30,000 votes, 34,000 votes and 36,000 votes.

District 46 (58% D — 28% R) Democrats: Incumbent Mike Roos and Sal Genovese, both of Los Angeles. Republicans: Gary Passi of Sherman Oaks and Tony Trias of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Bill Lake of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Robert Taves of Los Angeles.

This district is decidedly Democratic. Half the district is White; half is Latino. It is relatively poor, with a median household income of $12,506. Less than half the work force holds down white-collar jobs. And, for the first time in a while, it has a contested Democratic primary. Speaker pro Tempore Mike Roos, a member of Willie Brown's inner circle, is up against community activist Sal Genovese. Genovese ran against incumbent City Councilman John Ferraro in 1987, gathering in but 20 percent of the vote. But for this race, Genovese has the endorsement of the Mexican-American Political Association, a nice boost in this heavily Latino district. Genovese is also known throughout the area for organizing weekend volunteer crews who paint over graffiti and clean trash off the streets. He may find an issue in Roos' involvement with convicted influence peddler Patrick Moriarty, even though Roos was never charged with a crime. Genovese, however, has a major problem — lack of cash against Roos' ability to generate tons of it.

District 47 (83% D — 11% R) Democrat: Incumbent Teresa Hughes. Libertarian: Bryan Riley. Both are from Los Angeles.

Republicans didn't even apply.

District 48 (84% D - 10% R) Democrats: Incumbent Maxine Waters of Los Angeles and Cynthia Green-Geter of Lynwood.

Maxine Waters is one of the most formidable Black politicians in the country. A close ally of Speaker Willie Brown, a confidant of presidential hopeful Jesse Jackson, a force within the state Assembly. Green-Geter is a community activist, a member of the Lynwood housing commission and the owner of a local construction company. And her campaign may have tapped a reservoir of grumpiness with leadership in one of the state's poorest districts. That dissatisfaction surfaced in April when the mayor and a councilman from Southgate lost bids for reelection. Green-Geter is running an active, forceful campaign but she may not be able to muster the financial resources to knock off Waters, a six-term incumbent who can raise oodles of money.

District 49 (72% D — 19% R) Democrat: Incumbent Gwen Moore. Republican: Eric Givens. Both are from Los Angeles.

Once more into the breach for Eric Givens. He lost to Moore by 50,000 votes in 1986.

District 50 (76% D — 17% R) Democrats: Incumbent Curtis Tucker and Danny Tabor, both of Inglewood. Republican: Mike Davis of Los Angeles.

Last year, California Journal *tabbed Tabor as one of the state's rising young Black politicians. An Inglewood city councilman, he's only 33 but has served seven years on the council, a seat he gained*

Tabor

Tucker

by knocking off an incumbent. This is clearly Tucker's most formidable challenge in years. But, as yet, Tabor has been unable to muster enough local support to overcome an incumbent who has served in the Assembly for 14 years and who can tap a large array of campaign contributors — including Speaker Willie Brown — to help stave off defeat.

District 51 (37% D — 52% R) Democrat: Mark Wirth of Torrance. Republicans: Incumbent Gerald Felando of Torrance and Deane Dana III of Hermosa Beach. Libertarian: Rodney Dobson of Redondo Beach.

Gerry Felando's mistake was announcing a run for Congress. This potential career change was prompted by the nomination of incumbent Dan

Dana

Felando

Lungren to be state treasurer. Lungren, however, did not enjoy a smooth confirmation (his fate is ultimately to be decided by the state Supreme Court) and it appeared for a time that he might seek reelection to Congress. This, plus family considerations, was enough for Felando to run for reelection to the Assembly. Only one problem: When Felando announced for Congress, Deane Dana III decided to seek Felando's Assembly seat. He resigned his job with the Deukmejian administration in Sacramento and moved down to the district. When Felando reentered the race, Dana had already cast his die. And a formidable die it is for Felando. Dana is the son of Deane Dana II, the LA County supe who represents much the same area. He has access to money, a ton of name recognition and a public-relations boost from his father's reelection campaign, which has splattered the district with "Dana" billboards. GOP leaders are grumpy over this primary battle because saving Felando takes resources and energy away from their main goal — defeating Democrats.

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District 52 (44% D — 47% R) Democrat: Terry Perkins of Walnut. Republican: Incumbent Frank Hill of Whittier.

Perkins is a teacher who will get a civics lesson from Hill come November.

District 53 (60% D - 29% R) Democrat: Incumbent Dick Floyd of Carson. Republican: Chuck Bookhammer of Hawthorne.

The registration numbers here don't seem to daunt Republicans who two years ago made a strong bid to oust the veteran Floyd. They even spiced the campaign with a last-minute "letter from the White House" that accused the flamboyant Floyd of giving in to the underworld drug cartel. The White House, of course, knew nothing about the letter, nor did President Reagan authorize his signature on it. That small detail aside, Floyd was stung, and Democrats had to pour a vatful of last-minute money into the campaign to save him. Once again, Republicans are making noise about a full-blown effort to knock off Floyd and have recruited Hawthorne City Councilman Chuck Bookhammer to carry their flag. The area would not seem to be fertile ground for the GOP. Aside from the 60 percent Democratic registration, nearly 40 percent of the work force is blue-collar, nearly half the residents rent rather than own their homes, and nearly half the population is either Latino, Black or Asian. But Floyd is outspoken and can be belligerent, and Republicans in the Assembly hope his district's voters find him as offensive as they do.

District 54 (65% D — 27% R) Democrats: Willard Murray Jr. of Compton and Leon Ralph of Paramount. Republican: Incumbent Paul Zeltner of Lakewood.

This is the most Democratic district in the state represented by a Republican, and many observers consider Zeltner's 1986 victory a fluke. The area is tailor-made for a Democrat: 38 percent Latino; 29 percent Black; barely 50 percent Anglo. It has a large blue-collar work force, and a large number of area residents are renters rather than homeowners. Prior to 1986, the district was represented by Democrat Frank Vicencia, a close ally of Speaker Brown. But in 1986 Brown and his allies, notably Assemblywoman Maxine Waters, tried to shove a hand-picked candidate down the throats of this district — Ed Waters, son of Maxine. District voters wouldn't swallow, and Zeltner pulled off a stunning upset without much help from Assembly Republicans. Some observers said Zeltner's victory was the result of an anti-Black vote among the district's conservative White population and a poor turnout among Blacks. This year, two battles will be waged here. First, the primary between Democrats Murray and Ralph represents something of a local referendum on Speaker Willie Brown. Murray is backed by Brown; Ralph, a former assemblyman, is a long-time foe of the speaker who, although pledging support to the speaker, has reportedly been given backing by Democratic dissidents known as the Gang of Five. Normally, the Democratic primary winner would be considered the odds-on favorite for November. But both Murray and Ralph are Black and, as 1986 proved, Democratic registration is small comfort for a Black candidate in this district. Plus, Zeltner now has the advantages of incumbency and help from Assembly Republicans.

District 55 (67% D — 23% R) Democrat: Incumbent Richard Polanco of Los Angeles. Libertarian: William Wilson of Pasadena. Peace and Freedom: Evelina Alarcon and Gilberto de Santiago of Los Angeles.

The Peace and Freedom primary here won't affect the outcome in November.

District 56 (77% D — 14% R) Democrat: Incumbent Lucille Roybal- Allard. Republican: Stephen Sheldon. Peace and Freedom: Axhel Munoz. All are from Los Angeles.

The district is young, poor and 78 percent Latino.

District 57 (60% D — 29% R) Democrat: Incumbent Dave Elder. Republican: David Ball. Peace and Freedom: Justine Bellock. All are from Long Beach.

The Democratic part of Long Beach.

District 58 (40% D — 50% R) Democrat: Andrew Kincaid of Long Beach. Republican: Incumbent Dennis Brown of Los Alamitos. Libertarian: Scott Stier of Huntington Beach. Peace and Freedom: Richard Green of Long Beach.

Republican registration in this district has gained of late. As though Dennis Brown needed help.

District 59 (63% D — 28% R) Democrat: Incumbent Charles Calderon of Montebello. Libertarian: Steven Pencall of Alhambra.

Calderon can spend his time and money helping elect friend Peter Ohanesian in the 63rd District.

District 60 (59% D — 31% R) Democrat: Incumbent Sally Tanner of El Monte. Republican: Henry Velasco of El Monte. Libertarian: David Argall of La Puente.

Velasco is back for a second run at Tanner after losing to her by a 53-45 percent margin in 1986. A former El Monte city councilman, Velasco will once again try to take advantage of the district's 54 percent Latino population to offset the dominant Democratic registration in this heavily blue-collar area of Los Angeles County.

District 61 (40% D — 49% R) Democrat: Wes Ford of Yucaipa. Republicans: George Craig of Apple Valley, Chuck de Mirjyn of Redlands, David Hansberger of Redlands, Tim Johnson of Redlands, Mickey Lawson of Loma Linda, John Lewis of Apple Valley and Paul Woodruff of Redlands. Libertarian: Delvin Harbour of Lucerne Valley.

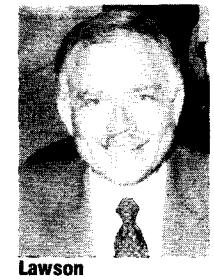
Bill Leonard has represented this area since 1978 but is leaving to run for the state Senate seat being vacated by H.L. Richardson. The election will most likely be decided in the Republican primary where a number of local elected officials are squaring off. Redlands City Councilmen Chuck de Mirjyn and Tim Johnson, and Loma Linda Councilman

de Mirjyn

Hansberger

Mickey Lawson have held public office. But Paul Woodruff is an aide to Leonard who has earned the incumbent's endorsement, as well as the endorsements of others in the Assembly Republican caucus. Despite his relative youth, the 28-year-old Woodruff has been involved in Republican politics and campaigns for many years. De Mirjyan is a high- profile politician who has served on the Redlands City Council for 23 years. Johnson has been a councilman for about six years. Although

Johnson



Lawson

Redlands is much larger than Loma Linda, where Lawson serves as a councilman, de Mirjyan and Johnson could split the Redlands vote. Add to the mix the fact that John Lewis is the brother of Congressman Jerry Lewis, and the congressman who represents the same area and who is reportedly twisting lots of arms to help his sibling. Any way

Ford

Woodruff

you slice it, this promises to be a tough, expensive Republican primary. And it could turn nasty as one candidate or another attempts to break out of the pack.

District 62 (41% D — 50% R) Democrat: Wayne Wendt of Upland. Republican: Incumbent Bill Lancaster of Covina. Libertarian: Susan Polson of Pomona.

Wendt managed 28 percent of the vote against Lancaster in 1986.

District 63 (58% D - 35% R) Democrats: Robert Epple and Bert Lujan of Norwalk, Pete Ohanesian of Downey and Marshall Story of Cerritos. Republican: Incumbent Wayne Grisham of Norwalk and Dale Hardeman of Downey.

Oh, what a lovely war this will be — on both sides. Incumbent Wayne Grisham's political vulnerability was highlighted last year when he lost a special election for the state Senate to Democrat Cecil Green. His poor showing caused Democrats to lick their chops at the prospect of returning this district to the fold (it was once represented by Bruce Young who retired in 1984). Fearful that the weakened Grisham couldn't hold on, Hardeman entered the primary against Grisham. Hardeman should know how to campaign against the incumbent because he ran Grisham's Senate campaign. He's also nailed down the endorsement of the local Republican central committee. Assembly Republicans are all out for Grisham and have appealed to Hardeman to run a less-than- full-bore campaign so as not to weaken the incumbent further. They've also put pressure on people who might help Hardeman finance his campaign, and his money has dried up. Even so, Republican leaders must spend to beat back Hardeman, using campaign funds they'd much rather spend to help Grisham survive in November. The Democratic primary is even murkier and provides a direct showdown between Speaker Willie Brown and the dissident Gang of Five. Brown's allies are supporting Epple; the Gang is behind Ohanesian. A former staff aide to Gang member Chuck Calderon is managing Ohanesian's campaign, with Harvey Englander as

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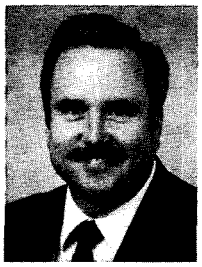
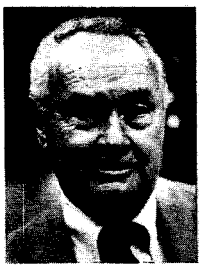
Story


Epple

campaign consultant. Richard Polanco is supposedly backing Story, a longtime area activist who could be a spoiler. Brown's allies stage-managed a Democratic Party endorsement for Epple at the state convention in March, although Epple failed to get the endorsement of the district Democratic Party. Brown has gone all out for Epple because he cannot afford another Gang ally in Sacramento. That may not be a plus for his candidate since Brown himself is not very popular in the district.


Grisham

If Epple wins, it will be the result of money poured in here on his behalf. The level of spending here bears watching. Results from April's local elections indicate that voters may be tiring of big-cash campaigns. In Norwalk and Cerritos, big-spending favorites were knocked off by opponents who had little money but large grassroots support.

District 64 (36% D — 55% R) Democrat: Don Heuer of Fullerton. Republicans: Incumbent Ross Johnson of La Habra and Ron Newton of Fullerton.

Johnson is a five-term incumbent who is used to fighting election battles elsewhere. This time, he has a primary challenge in his backyard from Newton, a contracts administrator who works for Hughes Aircraft. Johnson has enough money to beat off the challenge comfortably, but it is money Johnson would rather not spend against a Republican.

District 65 (42% D — 48% R) Democrat: David Chamberlain of Chino. Republican: Incumbent Charles Bader of Ontario. Libertarian: Paul Gautreau of Pomona.

Bader has a new Democratic opponent for the first time since 1982, but about the same challenge — minimal.

District 66 (58% D — 32% R) Democrats: Incumbent Gerry Eaves and Joe Baca, both of Rialto. Republican: David Masters of Fontana. Libertarian: Carl Snare Jr. of Rialto.

Eaves is the only member of the Gang of Five with a serious primary challenge. Baca is on the board of the San Bernardino Commmunity College who some say was encouraged to run by former Democratic Assemblyman Terry Goggin. Goggin represented this district until defeated by Eaves in the 1984 primary.

District 67 (31% D — 59% R) Democrat: Bruce Fink of Santa Ana. Republican: Incumbent John Lewis of Orange.

One of the state's more Republican districts makes this a kamikaze run for Fink.

District 68 (54% D — 37% R) Democrat: Incumbent Steve Clute of Riverside. Republicans: Brian Carroll and Bob Lynn, both of Moreno Valley.

Democrats are prepared to spend up to a million dollars to save Clute, who once again is the Republicans number-one target statewide. Republicans keep putting Clute at the top of their most-wanted list, then keep failing to come up with viable opponents. Clute may have dodged a bullet again this year when the candidate the Republicans really wanted, Riverside District Attorney Grover Trask, decided not to run. Now, Moreno Valley Councilman Carroll is their best bet, but he's no sparkler and he's in a nasty primary against Lynn. An expensive yawner.

District 69 (33% D — 55% R) Democrat: Marie Fennell. Republican: Incumbent Nolan Frizzelle. Both are from Huntington Beach.

An inexpensive yawner.

District 70 (28% D — 62% R) Democrat: Michael Gallups of San Juan Capistrano. Republicans: Incumbent Gil Ferguson and Evelyn Hart of Newport Beach, and Mike Mang of Laguna Beach.

Is it just us, or does there seem to be a strong undercurrent of grumpiness with incumbents from within their own districts? Maxine Waters, Wayne Grisham, Gerald Felando, Gerry Eaves, Curtis Tucker, Ross Johnson, ad infinitum — the list of incumbents facing primary challenges is extensive this year. Add Gil Ferguson, the arch-conservative ex-Marine who has made a career out of bashing Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda. Ferguson faces a tough primary campaign from Evelyn Hart, the mayor of Newport Beach, who charges that the incumbent has ignored district concerns. The Democrat is merely window-dressing in this district. Again, Ferguson is forced to spend campaign dollars against a fellow Republican when normally the incumbent from this district could donate his money to help defeat Democrats elsewhere.

District 71 (43% D — 48% R) Democrat: Art Brown of Buena Park. Republican: Incumbent Doris Allen of Cypress.

Orange County — land of Mickey Mouse, Wally Joyner and too few Democrats to threaten Doris Allen.

District 72 (50% D — 40% R) Democrat: Rick Thierbach of Anaheim. Republican: Incumbent Dick Longshore of Santa Ana.

Don't be surprised if Democrats pour a boatload of campaign cash into this district on behalf of Thierback, a deputy district attorney. Democrats represented this district until 1986 when Longshore's perennial challenge finally persuaded long-time incumbent Dick Robinson to go elsewhere (he lost a bid for Congress). But Longshore has thus far been a lightweight in Sacramento, and Democrats think his 1986 victory was a fluke aided in no small measure by Ronald Reagan's coattails.

District 73 (41% D — 50% R) Democrat: Erlinda Rodriguez Parker of Hemet. Republican: Incumbent Dave Kelley of Hemet. Libertarian: Chuck Beers of Mira Loma.

Dave Kelley will return for his sixth tour of duty in Sacramento.

District 74 (31% D — 55% R) Democrat: James Melville of San Clemente. Republican: Incumbent Robert Frazee of Carlsbad. Libertarian: John Flanagan of Carlsbad.

Frazee has an opponent, but not a challenge.

District 75 (34% D — 52% R) Democrats: Jack Chilton of Coronado and Mary Christian of La Jolla. Republican: Incumbent Sunny Mojonnier of San Deigo. Libertarian: John Murphy of San Diego. Peace and Freedom: Arnie Schoenberg of La Jolla.

A San Diego County coastal district that is 99.44/100ths percent pure Republican.

District 76 (33% D — 54% R) Democrat: Mike Harman of Escondido. Republican: Incumbent Bill Bradley of San Marcos. Libertarian: Bill Holmes of Poway.

Bill Bradley has one asset that is paramount in this mostly White, mostly affluent desert district — he's a breathing Republican.

District 77 (37% D — 50% R) Democrat: Sam Hornreich of El Cajon. Republicans: Carol Bentley of El Cajon and Gloria McColl of San Diego. Libertarian: Reena Deutsch of San Diego.

Incumbent Larry Stirling is running for the state Senate, leaving this seat wide open for the winner of the Republican primary. The battle could be tough and expensive between Bentley, an aide to retiring state Senator Jim Ellis, and McColl, deputy mayor of San Diego and a member of the San Diego City Council. Her high public profile would seem to give McColl the edge although much of the Assembly district is outside San Diego.

District 78 (44% D — 42% R) Democrat: Incumbent Lucy Killea. Republican: Byron Wear. Libertarian: Kurtis McMillen. All are from San Diego.

This district is the most Republican in the state not represented by a Republican. Democrats hold on here because of Killea's personal popularity. She won two years ago even though Republican registration had moved ahead of the Democrats. The Dems have pulled back ahead now, but the district should be solidly Republican. Wear, who lost the race for the San Diego City Council last year, probably doesn't have the wherewithal to oust a popular incumbent.

District 79 (59% D — 29% R) Democrat: Incumbent Peter Chacon. Republican: Gary Gahn. Libertarian: Joe Shea. All are from San Diego.

A Democratic stronghold.

District 80 (52% D — 36% R) Democrat: Incumbent Steve Peace of La Mesa. Republican: Steve Baldwin of Chula Vista. Libertarian: Randy Myrseth of National City.

Republicans hint at an ambush here against Peace, the volatile incumbent who is among Democratic dissidents trying to oust Speaker Willie Brown. But the district's demographics just don't spell "GOP." The district is poor, with Latinos making up nearly 40 percent of the population. Peace has never been threatened in an election, and there is no reason to think it will happen in 1988.

Research on demographics was compiled by *California Journal* intern Anthony Kohlenberger, a student from California State University, Fullerton. Registration figures and candidate listings were provided by the secretary of state's office.

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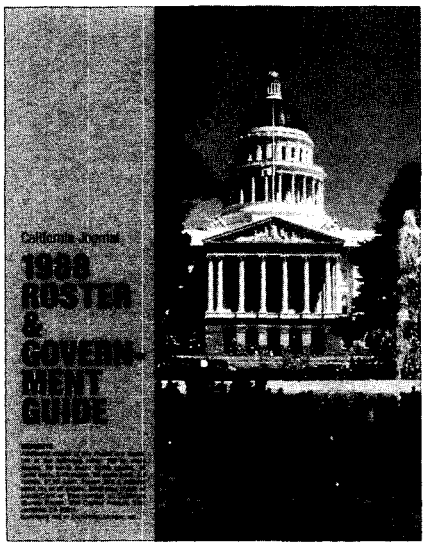
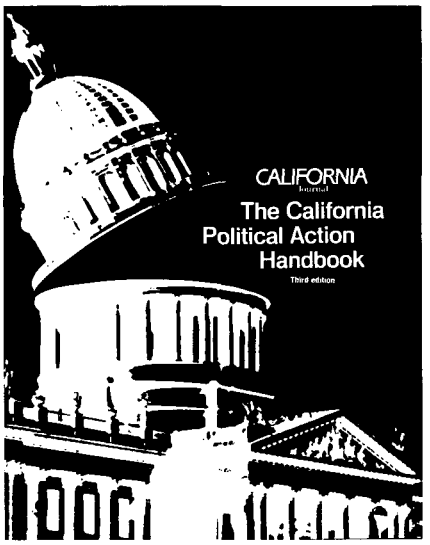


Roster & Government Guide, 1988, contains the names, titles, addresses and telephone numbers of all the key players in California government; lists of state agencies and boards, a legislative-process chart, legislative committee memberships and plenty of other useful information. Price for the 16-page pamphlet: 1-2 copies, $1.95 each; 3-49 copies, 90¢ each; 50-99 copies, 48¢ each; 100 or more copies, 36¢ each.



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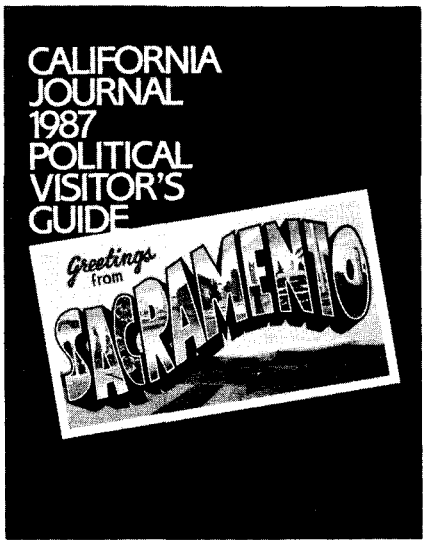

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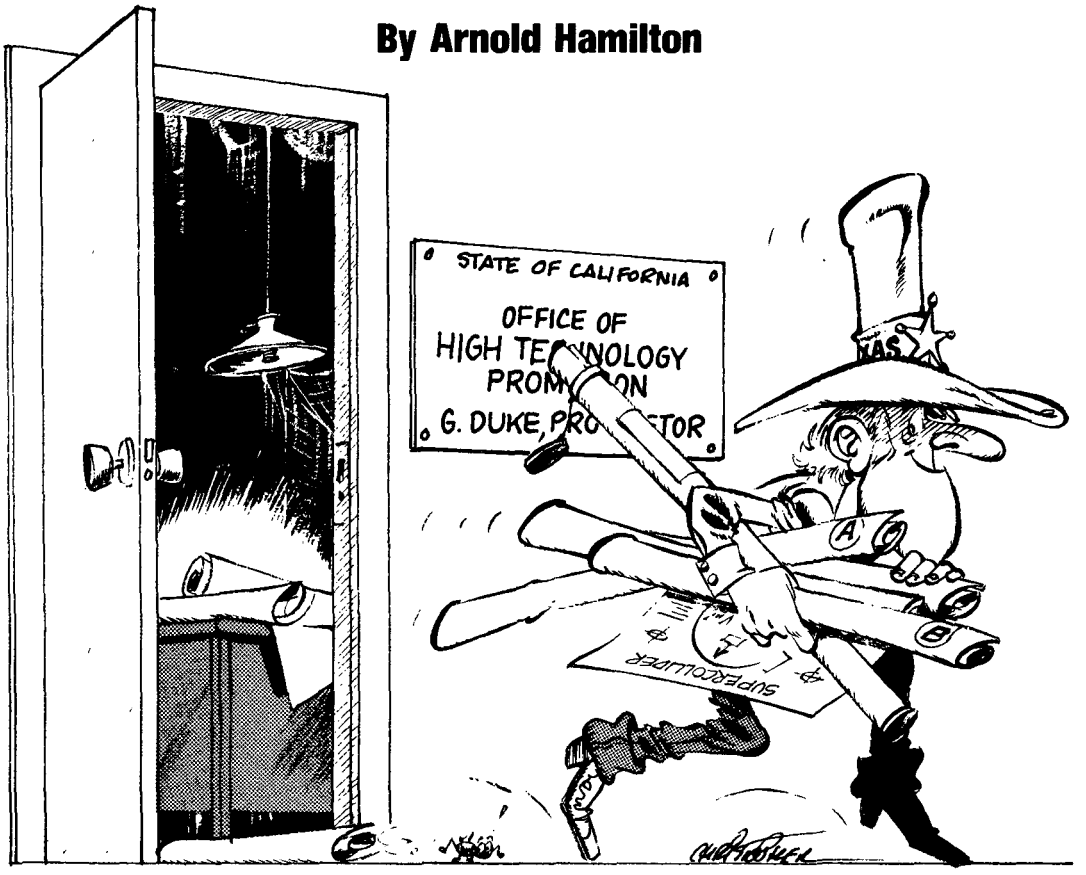
Goodbye, Mr. Chips

Is California losing its high-tech edge?

By Arnold Hamilton



When it first occurred in 1985, California leaders marveled at the unbridled ambition and megabucks that Texas flashed en route to winning the multi-state competition for the Microelectronics Computer and Technology Corporation high-tech research center.

When it happened again a year later, state leaders sniffed that politics played the key role in a National Academy of Sciences' decision to locate a massive new earthquake research center in Buffalo, New York, thousands of miles from the volatile Pacific Rim where most of the world's quakes occur.

But in the past few months, when it occurred twice in as many weeks, California's self-confidence and self-righteousness was suddenly replaced by alarm. With the loss of the $250 million a year Sematech semiconductor research consortium and the $4.4 billion supercollider atom smasher, the state's longtime role as the U.S. leader in high technology and electronics has been shaken to its very foundation.

California's embarrassing setbacks have unleashed a bitter round of finger-pointing in political circles and unprecedented hand-wringing as government, business and educational leaders search for clues to return the state to its glory days — and to protect its once impenetrable high-tech base.

"We can be satisfied with what we have and find that in 10 years from now we're in a terrible situation," says Walnut Grove's Democratic Senator John Garamendi, chairman of the Legislature's Joint Committee on Science and Technology. "Our population will have increased by six million, we'll have no infrastructure in place, and our research base will have eroded to the point where it's not producing new technology.

"The very heart of the California economy — the manufacturing economy — will be gone, and we'll be left with a service economy at the low end of the wage scale. We'll have not only lost our standard of living but also our quality of life."

What has happened to California's competitive edge?

From the late 1800s, when Stanford, Caltech and UC Berkeley were founded, through the World War II-initiated aerospace boom, to the more recent emergence of Silicon Valley as the nation's microchip capital, the state has enjoyed a veritable Midas touch when it came to science and technology. But that unchallenged superiority has slipped rapidly — the victim of what those who helped court the high-tech research projects describe as three key factors: a devastating absence of political leadership, an inexplicable indifference displayed by business, and a new aggressiveness by other, perhaps more hungry, states.

It is a scenario that thwarted the state with the most electronics companies from hosting Sematech, torpedoed the state which invented the cyclotron from siting the newest accelerator, and prevented the state with the most earthquakes from housing the new earthquake center.

Arnold Hamilton is a Capitol correspondent for the San Jose Mercury News.

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The bottom line: California did not receive more than 25,000 potential new jobs.

"The competition is getting tougher," says U.S. Energy Secretary John Herrington, himself a Californian. "We have some states like Texas that have been absolutely devastated by falling oil prices. You can look in Louisiana and Texas and you can find the highest unemployment rate since World War II. "These states are hungry. They're competitive, and they're difficult to compete against ... There's no question: California is going to have to meet the competition."

Like military bases and major water projects in the past, major research initiatives are widely considered today's keys to economic development. With areas dependent on oil and agriculture seeking to diversify, the competition has escalated to the point where many states are offering millions of dollars in matching funds, free land and buildings as incentives to win the projects.

And California, the experts say, is at a decided disadvantage because its political leadership is so fractured that it has trouble producing a cohesive bid, much less a united sales pitch.

By many accounts, both the Supercollider and Sematech were California's to lose.

The finalist sites for the atom smasher were decided by a National Academy of Sciences panel chaired by a Californian; moreover, the state's chances were bolstered by the fact that a Californian is president, a Californian is energy secretary, and the state has the largest congressional delegation. Yet the science panel spurned California. It didn't even make the cut for the final round of judging.

Similar factors were involved with Sematech, the semiconductor research consortium which ultimately chose Austin, Texas, as its site. Not only were six of the 14 board members from California, but as a federally-funded project, the state's clout in Washington was considered an important plus.

According to federal, state and local officials and business executives, it was a failure to exert effort by California's political leadership that doomed the state to bridesmaid status on the two critical projects — and could spell disaster for future state bids.

"I don't think you can win unless you have all the essential ingredient groups fully participating and fully communicating and dedicated to a sense of mission and purpose," says Austin attorney Pike Powers, who spearheaded the Chamber of Commerce's successful campaign to land Sematech.

Powers, then serving as chief of staff to former Texas Governor Mark White, also was instrumental in persuading Microelectronics Computer and Technology Corporation (MCC) to bring its $68 million budget to Austin rather than to San Diego.

The failure to crystalize the state's political — and to some extent, business — leadership has been blamed primarily on Governor George Deukmejian, a pro-business Republican who even has been criticized privately by GOP lawmakers for blundering on the major research projects.

"He's never been in business — he's an attorney and he's been a public official," said one Republican lawmaker, who spoke on the promise of anonymity. "He doesn't understand how business operates and what is needed to attract new business."

Administration officials counter that thousands of new businesses, generating 1.5 million new jobs, have located in California, in large part because Deukmejian has helped create a pro-business, low-tax, balanced-budget environment.

But Deukmejian, responding to the tidal wave of criticism, finally said: "If it makes some people happy, I'll take the responsibility."

Some lawmakers and local officials argue it is the governor's responsibility to help unite the various forces, from public to private sector, necessary to win major research projects. For example, several states — including North Carolina and Florida — competing for Sematech were represented by their governors last summer when presentations were first made in Santa Clara. The Deukmejian administration was barely involved in the process at that point.

Similarly, during the 1985 sweepstakes for MCC, then-Texas Governor White met MCC officials at the Austin airport and spent the entire day with them, ultimately hosting them at a gala reception in the governor's mansion. By contrast, MCC officials groused that Deukmejian's involvement was limited primarily to jetting into San Diego to deliver a speech to project officials, then returning immediately to Sacramento.

"The contrast was stark," says Austin's Powers.

But Republican U.S. Senator Pete Wilson, who served as San Diego mayor at the time MCC was lost to Texas, contends Deukmejian has waved the California banner admirably in an effort to win the high-tech projects. In fact, Wilson contends the Legislature, embroiled in a battle over minority contracting goals, was to blame for the delays in submitting the Supercollider proposal — a factor some believe damaged the state's standing. Moreover, Wilson argues that complacency is the real root of California's failure to capture the research projects.

"California cannot continue taking for granted that simply because we have all kinds of Nobel laureates and a tremendous existing base — both technologically and in terms of academic and private research facilities — that we are necessarily going to be the automatic choice," Wilson says. "We shouldn't be (complacent) after the experiences we've had, but I think there is certainly an element of that."

Lost in the debate over the Deukmejian administration's alleged failures to meet the competition is another, perhaps equally important factor: the high-tech business community's failure to rally behind the state's bids.

"We didn't have the corporate leaders out front twisting the arms of CEOs to produce the money to get something like (Sematech) located here," says Bill Claggett, director of San Jose's Economic Development Department. "It's a real problem, one recognized by a lot of people. Nobody knows whether it (corporate public interest) can be created out of whole cloth, or whether it has to happen as the industry matures."

In Texas, by contrast, Austin Chamber of Commerce officials established groups of business and civic leaders that attended to Sematech's every need. A technical team, for example, met all last summer — while California still struggled to finalize its bid — reviewing every detail and every piece of equipment. At another point, Austin officials gambled and built a prototype, bacteria-free "clean room" to prove to Sematech how quickly the city could produce one suitable to the consortium's research needs.

"The bottom line is, California does not speak with one political voice," says state Senator Garamendi. "There's no kind of unity of purpose when we promote these kinds of projects. It precludes us from maximizing our power, which we must do in order to withstand the anti-California cabals in Washington.

"We'd better get ourselves in gear. We'd better recognize what's going on and re-establish our scientific and technical dominance. If we don't, our economy is going to be in trouble."

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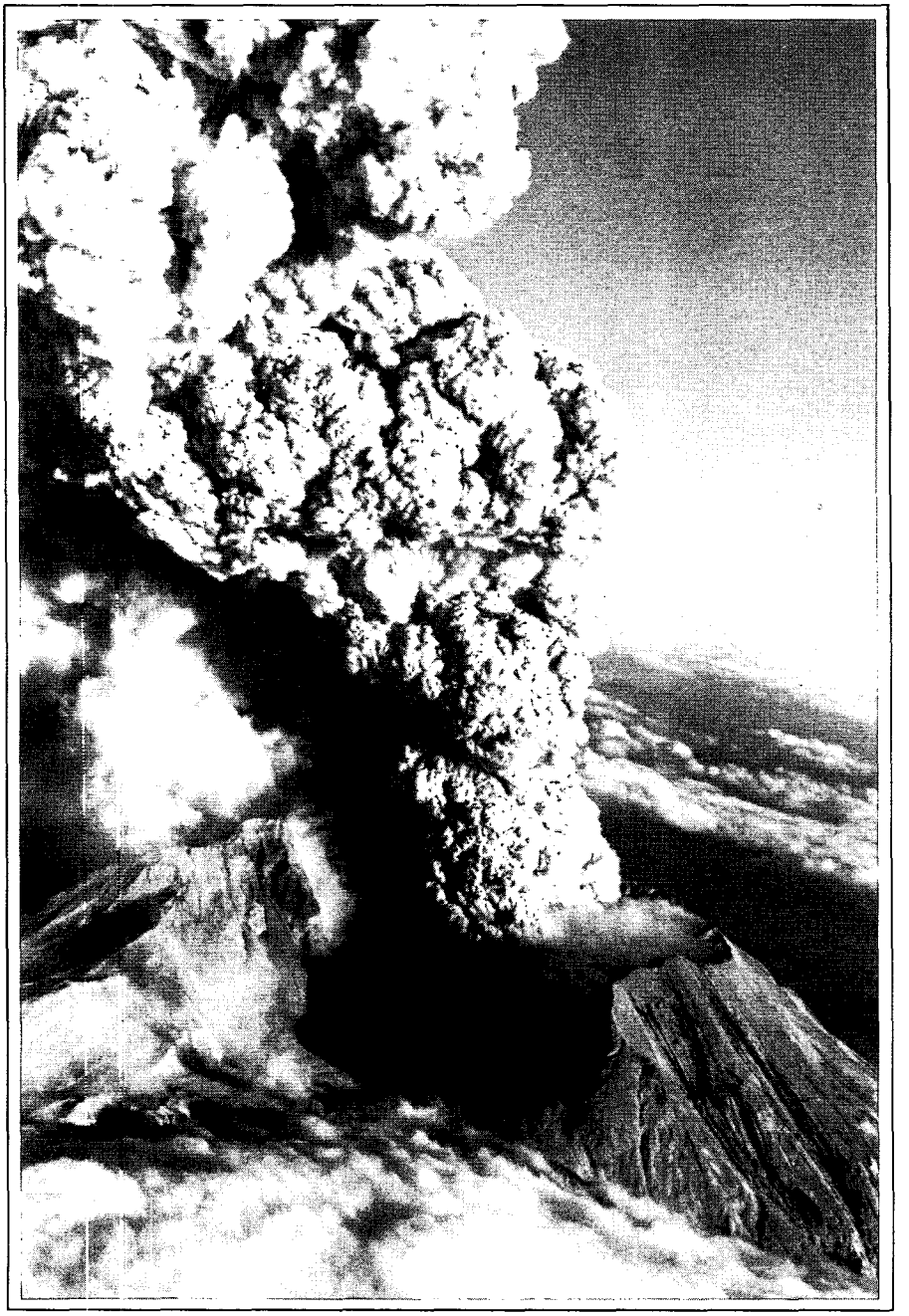
"Erupt? Mt. St. Helens? Not in a million years."



No doubt similar sentiments were expressed in 1883 on the island of Krakatoa moments before a volcanic explosion removed it from the map. Or in 79 AD when Mount Vesuvius enveloped the citizens of Herculaneum in a sea of molten lava, forever freezing in time the unwary populace as they went about their daily pursuits.

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Assemblymember Tom Bates has introduced AB 2653 to ensure the healthful and humane treatment of calves raised for veal. By reducing animal stress and disease, AB 2653 reduces reliance upon antibiotics. This, in turn, will benefit the industry by assuring consumers of a safe and humanely-raised product. In a bi-partisan show of support, the California Assembly has voted to approve AB 2653.
A vote will soon take place on the Senate floor.

Specifically, AB 2653 requires that veal producers allow calves enough room to turn around, lie down naturally, and make normal postural adjustments. In other words, basic human decency.

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California in bondage

Voters face record debt package

By Ed Mendel

With low moans and internal rumbling, the legislative machinery, cranked up with the aid of Governor George Deukmejian, broke the bond barrier this year.

The late state treasurer, Jesse Unruh, used to say that $2.5 billion to $3 billion was an appropriate total for the bonds placed before voters in a June-November election cycle. When Deukmejian first took office, he wanted to keep the bond total at an even lower amount — about $1 billion per election. To go beyond that, the governor argued, would risk a backlash of voter disapproval and make bond payments a burdensome part of the state budget.

But as the rhetorical smoke cleared from the bond battlefield this year, a whopping $6.2 billion was placed on the ballot — nearly twice the record $3.4 billion approved by voters in 1986.

What caused the big bulge in bonds, and can the state afford it?

The answer to the first part of the question, apparently, has more than a little to do with what the experts say is the answer to the second: "Yes."

There are a number of forces keeping the lid on pay-as-you-go spending. The governor, to name one, does not want to raise taxes, and the voters approved a constitutional amendment in 1979 that limits state spending. But as movement is blocked in that direction, the avenue toward greater debt is wide and beckoning.

- In what author Paul Gann has since said may be an unwise provision, money spent to pay off bonds is not counted under the state spending limit.
- California has made sparing use of bonds in the past. Only 1.8 percent of the state general fund is for bond payments this year. Many think 5 percent is acceptable. The federal government, not an example everyone would choose to follow, spends about 25 percent of its budget on debt service.
- The public seems to have forgotten how to say no, for voters have not rejected a bond proposal since 1980. In fact, at the Capitol, where they keep an eye on such things, it has been noted that bonds have been passing by a wider margin in recent years.

In addition to these general forces, there were some specific things that drove up the bond total this year.

One of the big-ticket items was placed on the June ballot not by legislative action but by a coalition of environmentalists who gathered signatures. Their measure (Proposition 70) proposes that $776 million in bonds be used to buy park land and beaches and improve fish and wildlife habitat.

Breaking with tradition, Deukmejian proposed a $1 billion bond issue to finance highways, rather than accomplish the same thing with an increase in the gasoline tax. "Why should only motorists be the ones to pay the cost, when in fact everyone in the state benefits from having an improved transportation network?" the governor asked.

This line of reasoning was not persuasive to Democratic legislative leaders. In exchange for signing off on the trans-

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Ed Mendel is in the Capitol bureau of the Sacramento Union.

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portation bonds, they secured Republican approval for $450 million in bonds for low-income housing and $75 million for libraries.

The housing money, intended to replace federal cuts, was sought by Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, a Los Angeles Democrat. Another $150 million for housing was placed on the November 1990 ballot. Subtract these two new items from the $6.2 billion total (the $776 billion environmental proposal and the $1.5 billion for the highway-housing agreement) and the total drops below $4 billion. And most of the remaining money is for the three things that have become a fixture on recent ballots: schools for the young, low-interest home loans for veterans, and prisons for the criminal.

But here again, the proposal for schools is unusually large, taking one $800 million bite from the apple in June and another $800 million in November. The prisons measure is a record $817 million.

Though the veterans' bonds are "self-liquidating," paid off by homeowners rather than the state general fund, their amount is less than in previous years.

A breakdown of the $3.24 billion total on the June ballot: parks, $776 million; schools, $800 million; highways, $1 billion; low-income housing, $150 million; and veterans' home loans, $510 million. The $2.94 billion in November: prisons, $817 million; schools, $800 million; college and university construction, $600 million; low-income housing, $300 million; libraries, $75 million; water conservation, $125 million; water systems, $75 million; and toxic cleanup, $150 million.

It would be reassuring to think that someone sat down, figured out the state's need for future facilities, and then came up with a rational bond plan to raise the money. But it does not work that way. Instead of being based on a capital outlay plan intended to cover the next decade or so, the bond measures are the result of a purely political process.

Sometimes it seems personal and quirky. This year, for example, a $125 million water-conservation measure was split, spreading the credit between both houses and the geographical areas in the north-south water split. Democratic Senator Henry Mello of Watsonville carried a bill putting $65 million on the ballot, and Assemblyman Jim Costa, a Fresno Democrat, carried a $60 million measure.

Each year under Deukmejian, bond measures have taken odd routes to the ballot. It always begins with a proliferation of bond bills, reaching $15 billion last year, that must be pruned back. In his first year, Deukmejian took it upon himself to wield the knife, vetoing $600 million for schools and $800 million for veterans' home loans.

As angry veterans in overseas caps watched from the gallery, the Assembly came as close as it ever has to overriding a Deukmejian veto — four votes short. The governor quickly compromised, approving $650 for veterans and $450 million for schools.

That brought the total amount of bonds on the November 1984 ballot to $1.6 billion, well above the $1 billion limit Deukmejian had advocated earlier in the year.

"I personally believe that once we place more than $1 billion on the November ballot, the chance of passage of all the bond measures decreases," the governor had written to Democratic legislative leaders.

He said two of the last three school bond measures had been rejected. And the one that was approved, $500 million in 1982, had squeaked by with only 50.5 percent of the vote.

But in the fall of 1984 the entire $1.6 billion package received a big thumbs up from voters. The school bonds received 60.7 percent of the vote, the veterans' bonds 66.3 percent, and clean water and toxics cleanup bonds received more than 70 percent.

One thing continued, however, from the position taken by Deukmejian during the first year he grappled with the bond problem. He invited legislative leaders to meet with him to fashion a bond package.

"Rather than considering the bond measures in a piecemeal fashion, I believe that these proposals should be evaluated together," he said in the letter to Democratic leaders.

Just how the selection of the bond measures can be purely political, in the partisan sense of the word, was starkly revealed in 1986. Deukmejian and the Democratic leaders, Roberti and Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. of San Francisco, agreed to put 10 bond measures on the November ballot totaling $2.3 billion. But there was a problem: Assembly GOP Leader Pat Nolan of Glendale and the hard-line conservatives in his caucus. They opposed five bond measures sought by Democrats for coastal purchases, wildlife preservation, libraries, Mexican border sewage cleanup and school bus safety.

Among other things, Republicans charged that two of the measures were intended to aid Democrats facing re-election fights that fall. The coastal bill was being carried by Assemblywoman Lucy Killea of San Diego, and the school bus bill by Assemblyman Richard Katz of Sepulveda.

Democrats fought back. Without those five measures, they warned, they would not approve the $150 million toxic cleanup measure sought by Deukmejian. The governor's toxic cleanup program was under fire, and many expected toxics (mistakenly, as it turned out) to be an important issue in his re-election bid that fall.

On a memorable night in July, the Assembly remained in session until about two in the morning as Deukmejian ad-

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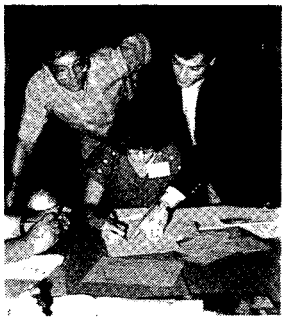

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ministration officials pleaded with Nolan's "cavemen" to cave. But they held firm, and only four measures totaling $1.65 million went on the ballot that fall.

By this year, even the cavemen had adopted a more benign view of bonded indebtedness — or at least they were convinced they could not deny Deukmejian his highway program. Nolan repeatedly said he and his caucus were "holding their noses" to avoid the odor of deficit spending. But they put up the votes.

In addition to the highways-for-housing agreement in the bond package, there were two important side deals. For Assembly Democrats, there was a bill by Los Angeles Democratic Assemblywoman Maxine Waters that set affirmative-action goals for all state contracts and bond sales. The state will attempt to steer 15 percent of the business to firms owned by minorities; another 5 percent to firms owned by women.

Critics noted that Speaker Brown is one of the few minority lawyers listed as a qualified bond counsel. Presumably, he could profit from the bill when he leaves the Legislature.

For Assembly Republicans, there was a bill by Assemblyman Charles Bader of Ontario that put a cap on developer fees imposed by school districts to pay for new schools.

But on both sides of the aisle, few applauded the use of bonds to fund highways. Dissident Democrats, the "Gang of Five," had proposed earmarking a portion of the sales tax for highways. The chairman of the Assembly Transportation Committee, Richard Katz, complained that ways to increase highway funding without a tax increase or bonds were ignored.

"Bonding is a risk at best," said Assemblyman William Baker, a Danville Republican. "You are indebting the future. While we need an immediate $1 billion fix on the highways, you can't do that on an ongoing basis."

While complaining about the size of the bond package, some legislators compared deficit financing to drug addiction. One called it the "first fix."

Even the acting state treasurer, Elizabeth Whitney, had reservations about doubling the amount of bonds the state would have to sell. "I would have preferred a lower number," said Whitney. "But frankly, it's not all that much of a problem because they don't all get sold in one year. It takes two to three years."

The Deukmejian administration, on the other hand, is taking the position that the state can easily afford to increase its bond debt. If voters approve all of the $6.2 billion package,

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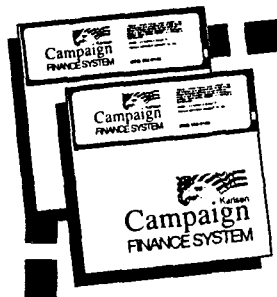

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said the Department of Finance, the annual bond payment will increase to 3 percent of the general fund, up from the current 1.8 percent. The general fund is spending $520 million for bond payments this year. Next year, $570 million is budgeted. Approval of the bond package, says the department, will eventually boost the payment to $1.2 billion a year or more.

"We feel that is still very comfortable," said Lois Wallace, Department of Finance spokeswoman. "That still compares very favorably to all the other states in the nation." This is a turnabout for the administration. In the letter to Democratic legislative leaders in 1984, Deukmejian warned that large bond issues would increase the state debt service to more than $1 billion a year. At that time, the state was only paying $300 million a year.

But the new administration position, taking a softer view of debt, is shared by a number of knowledgeable persons. A common argument is that California, compared to other states, ranks well below average in total bond debt, when measured per capita or as a percent of personal income. In 1986 the national per-capita debt was $1000, compared to $750 in California. The national average bond debt was 7 percent of personal income, compared to 4.5 percent in California. The bond rating service with the dimmest view of California bonds, Moody's, is not alarmed by the proposed package. "I would say in California's case, they have room to do some borrowing," said Claire Cohen, Moody's vice president.

While Standard & Poor's gives California bonds a top AAA rating, Moody's gives the state a AA rating. That is below 10 other states given a AAA rating by Moody's and two given AA1. The problem with California, thinks Moody's, is the frequent use of the initiative process to write complex financial legislation; the shift of local government financial responsibilities to the state after Proposition 13; and uncertainty about the impact of the spending limit.

In December the legislative analyst's office issued a report on bond financing which concluded that the current bond debt is not excessive. One of the authors said the proposed bond package would not change much.

"It depends on what you do after this year," said Peter Schaafsma. "If you were to authorize $6 billion every two years, you could crank up that number pretty quickly."

The report written by Schaafsma and Jon David Vasche said that bond financing is cheaper than commonly as-

The state's bonding agencies

California state bonds are under the control of a variety of state departments and agencies. Here is a listing of the entities that control bond sales and the reasons why they are issued. There are two types of bonds. General obligation bonds are those that are guaranteed by the taxpayers of the state. They may be repaid from taxes or from revenues generated by the program they support. Revenue bonds are repaid by other than tax sources. Some revenue bonds are for activities run by the government, such as parking lots at university campuses. Others, known as private activity bonds, underwrite private firms that want to accomplish an activity encouraged by the state, such as bonds for pollution control facilities on factories.

GENERAL OBLIGATION BONDS:

Department of Parks and Recreation

Bonds to develop, acquire and restore parks, recreation areas, and coastal lands.

Amount authorized: $1,435,000,000
Amount outstanding: 409,075,000
Amount unissued: 491,380,000

Department of Water Resources

Bonds to assist local water agencies to improve domestic water systems to drinking water standards. Often works in conjunction with the State Water Resources Control Board.

Authorized: $2,250,000,000
Outstanding: 1,502,750,000
Unissued: 500,000,000

State Water Resources Control Board

Bonds used to construct, upgrade and maintain wastewater treatment facilities to meet state and federal standards.

Authorized: $1,200,000,000
Outstanding: 478,780,000
Unissued: 375,000,000

Chancellor of the Community Colleges

Bonds for construction at community colleges.

Authorized: $225,000,000
Outstanding: 71,550,000
Unissued: 0

State Board of Corrections

Bonds issued to construct state prisons, and other correctional facilities.

Authorized: $2,320,000,000
Outstanding: 942,725,000
Unissued: 1,250,000,000

California Housing Finance Agency

Bonds providing interest rates subsidies for home buyers who borrow from private lending institutions.

Authorized: $200,000,000
Outstanding: 8,140,000
Unissued: 185,000,000

Department of Fish and Game

Bonds acquire, develop, and enhance land for the purpose of preserving wildlife habitats, endangered species, and ensuring fishing access.

Authorized: $85,000,000
Outstanding: 27,000,000
Unissued: 55,000,000

Department of Health Services

Bonds for toxic waste clean-up programs.

Authorized: $100,000,000
Outstanding: 45,000,000
Unissued: 50,000,000

Budget Act

Bonds issued to acquire sites for new University of California and California State University facilities, including site acquisition for health-care facilities and health-related equipment.

Authorized: $785,900,000
Outstanding: 119,475,000
Unissued: 400,000,000

California Tahoe Conservancy

Bonds to acquire targeted, undevelopable, privately-owned parcels in the Lake Tahoe Basin to preserve the natural environment, to ensure public access, and to provide for the enhancement of wildlife habitats.

Authorized: $85,000,000
Outstanding: 28,000,000
Unissued: 55,000,000

Resources Agency

Bonds to acquire and develop recreational facilities and to preserve sites with potential for fish and wildlife enhancement.

Authorized: $60,000,000
Outstanding: 18,500,000
Unissued: 0

Department of Aging

Bonds to acquire, construct and renovate multipurpose senior citizen centers managed by public or private nonprofit agencies.

Authorized: $50,000,000
Outstanding: 47,250,000
Unissued: 0

State Public Works Board

Bonds for construction of state office buildings.

Authorized: $1,050,000,000
Outstanding: 122,900,000
Unissued: 0

State Allocation Board

Bonds to construct new school facilities which are then leased to local school districts under long-term leases. Up to $710 million may be used for improvements to existing facilities.

Authorized: $1,750,000,000
Outstanding: 640,130,000
Unissued: 1,000,000,000

Department of Boating and Waterways

Bonds for the San Francisco Port Authority, public agencies, and harbor dis-

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Information for this story was compiled by California Journal *intern Lisa Winstead.*

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sumed. Why? Because much of the debt over the 20-year life of a bond is paid off in dollars made cheaper by inflation. For example, a $100 million project financed with bonds would actually cost the state $185 million as it pays off the bonds. But, the report said, when inflation is taken into account, the cost in constant dollars drops to about $130 million.

The use of state bonds has "expanded dramatically" since 1980, jumping the outstanding debt in six years by $14 billion, or more than 150 percent. But, the report said, most of the increase was in "revenue" bonds. As the name suggests, these are only backed by the revenues from the projects they finance. A leading example: the low-interest home loans issued by the California Housing Finance Authority.

On the other hand, "general obligation bonds" are backed by the "full faith and credit" of the state, and the taxpayers are ultimately responsible for their repayment.

At the end of June 1985 the money owed by the state for bonds it had issued totaled $23.1 billion. Of this, $15.1 billion was for revenue bonds and only $3.4 billion of the $8 billion general obligation bond debt was not "self-liquidating," like the veterans' home loans.

While revenue bonds spurted 150 percent during the six-year period after 1980, said the report, general-obligation bonds increased by a third. That was less than the 50 percent increase in the general fund.

"This revenue-bond growth primarily reflected the increased use of state bonds to benefit the private sector, including bonds for housing, pollution control and industrial development," read the report.

Another positive sign: Little, if any, of the state bond money is used to pay for the ongoing operational cost of government, and attempts to do so have been resisted. There was a flap this year over a proposal to set aside $40 million from one of the school bonds to reward districts with year-round schools. The maximum use of existing schools, it was argued, reduces the need for new schools. But the proposal was dropped when opponents argued that it would be an operational subsidy.

After their review of the state's bond status, the analysts make a recommendation. They think the state needs a 5-to-10-year capital outlay plan and a bond schedule to fund it.

That seems to make sense. But wait. How could the politicians wheel and deal if bonds were only a matter of rational planning?

tricts for improvements to public boating facilities.
Authorized: $60,000,000
Outstanding 11,785,000
Unissued: 0

The Port of San Francisco
Bonds for improvements to San Francisco Harbor.
Authorized: $29,303,000
Outstanding 240,000
Unissued: 0

Department of Education and the State Allocation Board
Bonds for school construction in districts that lack sufficient funds.
Authorized: $2,140,000,000
Outstanding 375,525,000
Unissued: 40,000,000

Department of Veteran's Affairs
Bonds to finance home and farm loans for California veterans at low interest rates.
Authorized: $5,950,000,000
Outstanding: 2,737,760,000
Unissued: 850,000,000

STATE REVENUE BOND PROGRAMS

California National Guard
Bonds to finance low-interest residental mortgage loans to members of the California Guard. Proceeds are used to finance long-term housing and farm loans for California National Guard members.
Authorized: $100,000,000
Outstanding: 21,590,000

California Transportation Commission (CTC)
Bonds for toll bridge construction (except for the seven Bay area bridges).
Authorized: No statutory limit
Outstanding: $90,890,000

Department of Veterans Affairs
Bonds to finance low-interest mortgage loans for California veterans. A supplement to the Veterans Bond Act listed under General Obligation Bonds.
Authorized: $1,500,000,000
Outstanding: 1,093,005,000

Government revenue bonds

California Housing Finance Agency (CHFA)
Bonds creating below-market interest rate capital to finance single-family mortgages for qualified borrowers. For rental housing, proceeds are loaned to developer/borrowers to construct multifamily housing affordable to qualified tenants.
Authorized: $3,750,000,00
Outstanding: 2,448,476,406

Department of Water Resources
Bonds to construct water and power facilities which are paid for by local public agencies under water supply contracts.
Authorized: No statutory limit
Outstanding: $1,612,135,000

Hastings College of Law
Bonds finance capital improvement at Hastings College of Law in San Francisco.
Authorized: No statutory limit
Outstanding: $6,840,000

State Public Works Board
Approves bonds for state public work projects, including hospitals and prisons.
Authorized: Specific projects set by legislation, except for energy conservation bonds which are limited to $50,000,000 per year for ten years.
Outstanding: $1,227,333,000

Regents of the University of California
Bonds to finance capital improvement projects at the University of California campuses and teaching hospitals, including parking facilities, sports facilities, etc.
Authorized: No statutory limit
Outstanding: $874,455,000

Trustees of the California State University
Bonds to finance capital improvments for housing, parking, health centers, and student union facilities within the State University system.
Authorized: No statutory limit
Outstanding: $218,093,000

Private activity bonds

California Educational Facilities Authority (CEFA)
Bonds for private non-profit institutions of higher education in the construction and expansion of non-sectarian educational facilities. Bonds may be issued to refund existing bonds, mortgages, or other obligations incurred by private colleges for the acquisition or construction of educational facilities.
Authorized: $1,250,000,000
Outstanding: 738,448,566

California Alternative Energy Source Financing Authority (CAESFA)
Bonds for loans to business that install alternative energy technologies — solar, biomass, wind, geothermal, etc.
Authorized: $200,000,000
Outstanding: 116,135,000

California Health Facilities Financing Authority (CHFFA)
Bonds to back loans for private non-profit corporations including health facilities — hospitals, skilled nursing facilities, acute-care.
Authorized: $4,249,000,000
Outstanding: 3,685,662,500

California Pollution Control Financing Authority (CPCFA)
Bonds to businesses that install pollution control devices.
Authorized: No statutory limit
Outstanding: $2,764,600,000

California School Finance Authority (CSFA)
Bonds for schools and community college districts to pay for new equipment, including school buses and computers, or the construction of public school facilities.
Authorized: $250,000,000
Outstanding: 50,000,000

California Student Loan Authority
Bonds for the purchase of federally-insured postsecondary student loans from lending institutions. (Currently inactive)
Authorized: $300,000,000
Outstanding: 102,185,000

California Urban Waterfront Area Restoration Financing Authority (CUWARFA)
Bonds for coastal improvement projects like urban waterfront restoration.
Authorized: $650,000,000
Outstanding: 0

Hazardous Substance Cleanup Financing Authority (HSCFA)
Bonds for the cleanup of toxic substances.
Authorized: $100,000,000
Outstanding: 0

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YES, YOU CAN EASILY WIN A PUBLIC OFFICE, NO MATTER WHO YOU ARE, BY FOLLOWING THE POLITICAL SUCCESS SYSTEM THAT NEVER FAILS!

ARE YOU READY FOR A CHANGE?

Are you tired of the hum-drum of daily existence? Are you bored with the same old routine? Why not move into the fast lane of AMERICAN POLITICS?

CONSIDER THIS SCENARIO

Imagine, it's election night. YOU enter the grand ballroom in your town's best hotel. The band is swinging. The dance floor is packed. Electricity is in the air.

YOUR name is emblazoned on a large red, white and blue banner stretching the length of the stage. YOUR picture is on buttons, posters and memorabilia of ever description.

Trusted aides clear a path for YOU. Word spreads like brush fire through the crowd annoucing YOUR arrival. Spontaneous applause swells to a fever pitch. The band plays "Happy Days Are Here Again."

YOU reach the stage. YOUR heart is pounding. A sea of hands are extended toward your feet from campaign workers below. YOU bend to shake a few.

Finally, YOU raise your hands asking for quiet. A hush falls over the room. YOU begin addressing the crowd. TV cameras are thrust in your direction.

As YOU begin thanking everyone for their hard work, your campaign manager hands you a note. Channels 2, 4, and 7 have projected you the winner! YOUR OPPONENT HAS CONCEDED. YOU'VE BEEN ELECTED!

YOU make the announcement. Pandemonium breaks loose. The crowd chants YOUR name. An indescribable feeling comes over YOU. You can't remember the last time you had such a rush of adrenalin.

AS AN ELECTED OFFICIAL THIS IS JUST THE BEGINNING!

- YOU will have POWER and INFLUENCE.
- YOU will APPEAR regularly on TV.
- NEWSPAPERS will constantly quote you.
- The ELITE will court you.
- STARS and STARLETS will want your company.
- YOU will be the CENTER of ATTENTION wherever you go.
- YOUR life will be a 24-hour-a-day, 7-day-a-week EGO TRIP.

Kissinger was right. Power is the ultimate aphrodisiac.

IMPOSSIBLE! YOU SAY. WELL, YOU ARE WRONG.

If you will just keep reading I'm certain I can convince you otherwise. You see, I have studied elections in city after city over the last decade and I've learned the existence of a remarkable political success system that never fails. IT'S A SYSTEM THAT CAN WORK FOR ANY ORDINARY PERSON. AND IT'S AS SIMPLE AS "ABC." IT'S BEING USED OVER AND OVER AGAIN FOR EVERY KIND OF ELECTED OFFICE.

HERE'S WHAT YOU HAVE TO DO:

1) MOVE TO A CITY WHERE THE MAJORITY OF VOTERS ARE TENANTS. This isn't hard. Most large American cities qualify.

2) FILE FOR OFFICE IN THE NEXT ELECTION. ANNOUNCE THAT IF ELECTED YOU WILL INTRODUCE A RENT CONTROL LAW WHICH WILL:

ROLL BACK RENTS to the level of some previous period in time.
LIMIT FUTURE RENT INCREASES to a fraction of inflation.
INSURE that VOLUNTARILY VACATED APARTMENTS WILL NEVER be permitted to be RENTED at MARKET VALUE.

In no time renters will be paying rents that are ⅓ to ½ of those in the open market.

3) CREATE A RENT CONTROL BOARD TO ADMINISTRATE THE LAW. Appoint only people who are true believers in this system so there will be no dissenting views *When TENANTS APPEAL TO THE BOARD for phoney RENT DECREASES.* When LANDLORDS APPLY FOR RENT INCREASES appear to be fair but make it so complicated they will need an attorney, an accountant and a printing press to complete the paperwork. Don't allow the landlord's legal and accounting fees to count as expenses. And don't worry if the landlord should be so naive as to file. Remember, the pro-renter board still decides the cases.

4) SAY THE RENT CONTROL SYSTEM IS NEEDED TO PROTECT THE POOR, THE ELDERLY AND FAMILIES. It makes voters think you really care.

THAT'S IT. NO FUSS. NO MUSS. NO BOTHER. IT'S EASIER THAN TAKING CANDY FROM A BABY!

STILL HAVE QUESTIONS?

If you are like most people I've explained this system to, you have 10 basic questions such as:

Q. I CAN SEE THE APPEAL OF THE RENT CONTROL ISSUE, BUT WON'T I STILL NEED A LOT OF MONEY TO RUN A CAMPAIGN?

A. Are you kidding? You're offering rents at $.30 to $.50 on the dollar. You're appealing to voters' pocketbooks. Never underestimate the power of greed! Your opponent could be bankrolled by the Saudi Royal family and still lose.

Q. I'M A DEMOCRAT. WON'T REPUBLICAN TENANTS VOTE AGAINST ME?

A. Greed knows no idealogy.

Q. WON'T THE PRESS EXPOSE THIS WHOLE SCHEME?

A. Don't make me laugh! When was the last time you read a favorable article on a landlord?

Q. ISN'T SUCH A LAW A VIOLATION OF LANDLORDS' CIVIL RIGHTS? WON'T GROUPS LIKE THE ACLU STEP IN TO HELP?

A. Of course the landlords rights will be violated. But not to worry. Landlords are the traditional evil villain. Their cries will be in vain.

Q. ISN'T THE LAW UNCONSTITUTIONAL AND WON'T THE COURTS THROW IT OUT?

A. Without question it's UNCONSTITUTIONAL, based on a literal interpretation. But Judges who follow the Constitution literally went out with the horse and buggy. Besides, Judges are appointed by politicians or are elected by voters. They know what side their judicial bread is buttered on. You can bet your money that they'll make popular decisions favoring the tenant majority.

Q. WON'T THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY SIDE WITH LANDLORDS IN OPPOSITION?

A. Initially, yes. But when their cash registers start ringing with all the dollars tenants save in rent, they'll drop the landlord cause like a hot potato. They'll not only jump on the control board bandwagon — they'll fill it with gas!

Q. WHAT ARE MY CHANCES FOR RE-ELECTION? WON'T EVERYBODY WHO RUNS JUST SAY THEY ARE PRO-RENT CONTROL?

A. Sure they will. But all you'll have to do as part of your re-election platform is to advocate the initiation of more draconian rent control measures. Keep the pot boiling and your opponents will end up in the soup.

Q. ISN'T THIS RENT CONTROL LAW REALLY SOCIALISM?

A. Of course, but never admit it. Call it Economic Democracy. Call it Progressive. Pick your favorite euphemism. No one will be the wiser. Believe me, no one will care.

Q. DON'T MOST AMERICANS BELIEVE IN THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM?

A. Yes, but they don't really know what it means. The average American's philosophy is that they should be free to make all the money they can at what they do, but the government should control what they have to pay for things like rent, car insurance, medical care, or whatever hits their hot button.

Q. WILL THE POOR, THE ELDERLY AND FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN REALLY BENEFIT FROM RENT CONTROL?

A. Not in the long run. They're the very people for whom it will be impossible to find housing in the future. All the bargain apartments will go to the influential professionals. Welfare for the rich will not be housing for the poor.

WEALTH OF OPPORTUNITIES

Rent Control can generate additional political and legal opportunities for your followers because rent control is a proven cause of :

HOMELESSNESS. . . in ever increasing numbers!
DISCRIMINATION against the poor, minorities and children!
DESTRUCTION and DETERIORATION of RENTAL NEIGHBORHOODS!
HUGE PORK-BARREL, PARTISAN, SELF-PERPETUATING BUREAUCRACIES!

It's easy to blame the above on your opponents and keep campaign coffers filled for you and your cronies as you play both ends against the middle.

Yes, my friends, POLITICAL POWER and INFLUENCE CAN BE YOURS. You need only know how to USE RENT CONTROL TO GET ELECTED.

The above is a primer on insuring the demise of private sector housing. If you believe in private property rights and the free enterprise system, we encourage you to fill out the coupon below for further information:

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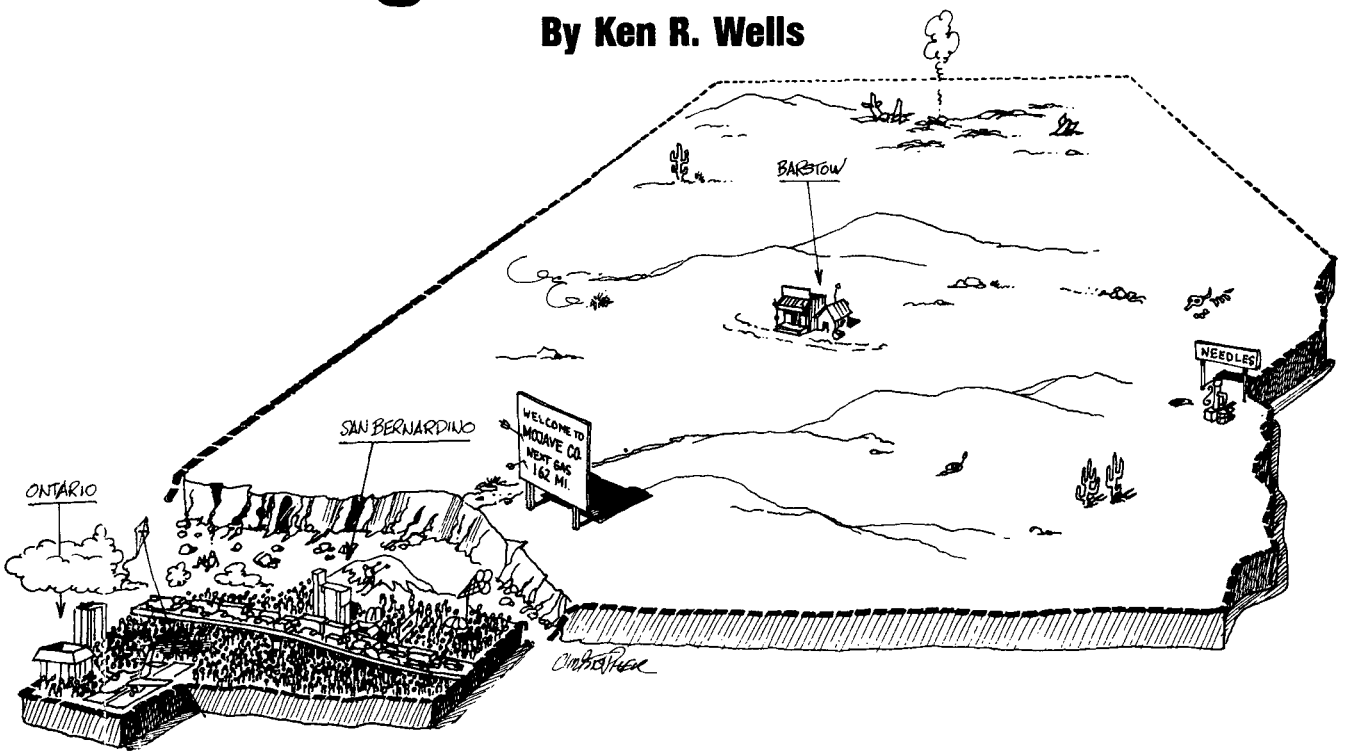
MOJAVE: THE 59TH COUNTY?

Desert defection facing San Bernardino

By Ken R. Wells



California's vast Mojave Desert is a land of competing interests, ranging from mining and farming to industry and recreation. But the traditional desert rivalries have been set aside, at least temporarily, as residents have found an issue most appear to agree on.

The issue is whether the scattered desert dwellers are being fairly treated by a county government headquartered on the Los Angeles side of the San Gorgonio Mountains in urbanized San Bernardino County. Many desert citizens believe they are short-changed by being part of San Bernardino County and have decided the best way to remedy this is to form a county of their own. So in 1986 organizers of the proposed Mojave County movement collected more than 20,000 signatures on petitions calling for the creation of the new county.

The petitions were filed with the San Bernardino County Registrar of Voters office in January 1987. Several months later, as part of the formation process, Governor George Deukmejian appointed a five-member commission to study the economic feasibility of the new county, set boundaries, and determine how San Bernardino County's assets, liabilities and bonded indebtedness would be distributed.

After eight months of almost weekly public hearings, the commission concluded the proposed county would be economically viable and that the remaining San Bernardino County would not be drastically hurt by the withdrawal. Voters will decide the issue at the June 7th election.

San Bernardino County has about 1,188,000 residents, based on 1986 estimates, and 20,164 square miles of land, making it the largest county in the continental United States.

The new Mojave County would have about 205,000 residents and about 18,500 square miles of territory, nearly all desert. Generally, it would stretch from the Los Angeles County and Kern County lines on the west to the Colorado River on the east and the San Bernardino Mountains on the south.

If approved by voters, Mojave County would rank first in area and 24th in population among California's existing 58 counties. San Bernardino County, now ranked first in area and sixth in population, would drop to 28th in area but remain sixth in population with just under a million residents.

No new county has been formed in the state since Imperial County broke away from Riverside County in 1907. During the past 12 years, five attempts to form new counties have made it to the election stage. All were defeated by voters. In 1978 three areas of Los Angeles County attempted to break away: the Newhall-Saugus area, the South Bay area and the Palos Verdes Peninsula. Other attempts were made in 1982 in eastern Fresno County and in 1984 in the Lake Tahoe region of eastern El Dorado County.

Although some of these splits were favored by voters in the proposed new counties, which all had smaller populations, they were always defeated by voters in the county overall. There is some feeling things might be different in Mojave, where some residents of the

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more populated and fast-growing San Bernardino Valley — which includes the cities of San Bernardino, Redlands, Ontario. Chino, Fontana and Upland — might just be glad to see the desert go.

At the center of the Mojave County issue is the level of services desert residents receive from San Bernardino County. The desert generated $190 million in revenue for San Bernardino County in 1985-86 while receiving only $160 million worth of services, according to Mike Rothschild of Victorville, a new-county proponent.

But underlying this is a strong sense of independence and isolation people in the desert feel towards the urban San Bernardino Valley. The desert area now has one representative on the five-member board of supervisors, but if a new county is formed it will have its own five-member board.

"The people making the decisions for the desert will be closer to the problems," Rothschild said. "I believe in government at the local level and would rather do away with the concept of county government altogether."

Rothschild is a 17-year desert resident and a Victorville city councilman. "I had always felt the desert was being short-changed, but it wasn't until I got on the city council that I saw there was a real adversary role between the desert and the rest of San Bernardino County," he said.

At least one San Bernardino County supervisor has taken exception to this and warned desert residents that the board may cut back on money spent for the desert if the formation attempt is unsuccessful.

"My perspective is that the valley area is subsidizing the desert," said Second District Supervisor Larry Walker of Chino, who represents the Ontario-Rancho Cucamonga area.

Even some supporters of Mojave County admit desert residents may be in for hard times should they break away from San Bernardino County. "A lot of people up here feel that taxes will go up and they will lose a lot of services if the new county effort is successful," said Hildamae Voght of Newberry Springs, 20 miles east of Barstow. "I'm sure we will have a hard time for a little while but in the long run it will be worth having our independence."

In order to pass, the new-county proposal must be approved by a majority of voters in both the proposed county and the existing San Bernardino County as a whole.

Some proponents believe they will have difficulty convincing valley voters to vote for it. But Walker disagrees and said valley residents may believe they will benefit from a smaller San Bernardino County. "In fact, I think the proposal will pass with a higher 'yes' vote in the valley than in the desert," he added.

Two opponents of the proposal are San Bernardino Mayor Evelyn Wilcox and Lester Dabritz, executive director of the San Bernardino Chamber of Commerce. "We like the diversity of a large county," Dabritz said. "The fact that we're the largest county in the U.S. brings attention to us and is a factor in our marketing strategy."

Wilcox echoed this "bigger is better" feeling. "As we continue to grow, this is certainly not the time to split the county. If the desert residents feel their needs are not being met by the county, there are other ways to respond to their needs such as the incorporation of several new cities."

Although desert dwellers might be united by their differences with the urban residents, they are split by their own internal rivalries. For years, citizens of such unincorporated communities as Daggett, Yermo and Lenwood have resented what they consider encroachment by the city of Barstow. This was pointed out about 10 years ago when the communities of Daggett, Yermo, Newberry Springs and Ludlow broke away from the Barstow school district and formed their own Silver Valley Unified School District.

"There are some regional interests within the desert that won't easily go away. But they can be mitigated," Rothschild said. Voght agreed but added that the new county movement has brought desert residents closer together, and they have a better understanding of each other's needs and concerns.

One issue that could split desert residents is the selection of a county seat. The governor's commission recommended the seat be in Barstow. If the new county is approved in June, voters will then elect a board of supervisors and select the county seat in the November 8th general election.

Walker bluntly predicted, "If Mojave County does form, civil war will break out when they try to figure out where the county seat will be."

While Barstow and Victorville seem to be the logical candidates for the county seat, Voght has suggested it be established in an unincorporated area that is close to the geographic center of the proposed county.

Regardless of the outcome of the new-county issue, it is likely to change desert politics for years to come. Even if it fails, Rothschild said it will at least make the residents of the San Bernardino Valley more aware of the concerns of desert residents.

As Voght put it, "They think there's nothing out here but cactus, jack rabbits and sidewinders. Well, we're not quite as thorny as cactus, our ears aren't as long as the jack rabbit but when we feel we're backed into a corner, they'll know we will strike back just like a sidewinder."

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BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 372,145 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 595,485. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal *that contains a full explanation of each measure. Regardless of the date shown, signatures should be submitted by April 6, 1988, for any measure to qualify for the November 1988 ballot.*

New in circulation:

INSURANCE REGULATION. MOTOR VEHICLE ACCIDENT CLAIMS REIMBURSEMENT PROGRAM — an initiative statute, sponsored by Democratic state Senator Alan Robbins of North Hollywood and Adam Burton of Los Angeles, that would set up a fund supported by vehicle-registration and traffic-violation fees. Money from the fund would be used to reimburse specified accident claims on a no-fault basis. Among other provisions, it creates a state bureau to set premium fees and administer the program and sets maximum reimbursement awards. This is the eighth insurance initiative to be introduced into circulation this year. (August 8th)

LEGAL PRACTICE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Sally Acosta of Los Angeles, that would abolish the American Bar Association and the State Bar of California and require that licenses to practice law in California be issued by law schools to their graduates. Among other provisions, it would prevent judges from trying two cases at once, settling malpractice suits out of court and courts trying cases without evidence. (August 22nd)

ATTORNEY FEES LIMIT FOR TORT CLAIMS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Edwin Smith of Sacramento, that would limit attorney contingency fees to no more than 25 percent of the first $50,000 recovery, 15 percent of the next $50,000, and no more than 10 percent of the amount recovered over $100,000. A court may reduce the fees. (September 9th)

Continuing in circulation:

ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES — an initiative statute, sponsored by Joseph Viducich of Beverly Hills. (April 18th; January 1988 *CJ*)

AIDS TESTING — an initiative statute, sponsored by Los Angeles County Sheriff Sherman Block. (April 18th; January 1988 *CJ*)

HOUSING AND NUTRITIONAL ASSISTANCE — an initiative statute, sponsored by Board of Equalization Chairman Conway Collis. (April 21st; January 1988 *CJ*)

CIGARETTE AND TOBACCO TAX — an initiative constitutional amendment and statute, sponsored by Neil Andrews and Carolyn Martin of the Coalition for a Healthy California. (May 2nd; February 1988 *CJ*)

CAL-OSHA — an initiative statute, sponsored by John Henning of the California Labor Federation (May 2nd; February 1988 *CJ*)

OATH OF OFFICE — an initiative constitutional amendment — sponsored by Tony Avila Sampson, Floyd Sampson, Rose Sampson, William Sampson and Howard Sampson of Petaluma. (May 9th; February 1988 *CJ*)

TERMINAL ILLNESS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Robert Risley of Los Angeles. (May 9th; February 1988 *CJ*)

JUDICIAL ORGANIZATION — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by James Schwander of People for Legal Justice. (May 16th; February 1988 *CJ*)

HOUSING ASSISTANCE BONDS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Marcus Brown Jr. of the California Coalition for Rural Housing. (May 16th; February 1988 *CJ*)

AIDS REPORTING — an initiative statute, sponsored by Republican Congressman William Dannemeyer of Fullerton and Dr. Lawrence McNamee of the California Physicians for a Logical AIDS Response. (May 16th; February 1988 *CJ*)

ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES; 'TIED HOUSE' LAWS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Jeremiah Hallisey of San Francisco. (May 16th; February 1988 *CJ*)

ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE TAX — an initiative statute, sponsored by Los Angeles County Supervisor Ed Edelman. (May 19th; February 1988 *CJ*)

DISCLOSURE — an initiative statute, sponsored by Jim Rogers of Oakland (May 23rd; February 1988 *CJ*)

MOTOR VEHICLE INSURANCE — an initiative statute, sponsored by Democratic Assemblyman Richard Polanco of Los Angeles. (May 26th; February 1988 *CJ*)

NUCLEAR POWER PLANT EMERGENCY RESPONSE PLANS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Ben Davis Jr. of Broderick. (June 6th; March 1988 *CJ*)

SCHOOL FUNDING — an initiative consitutional amendment, sponsored by California Teachers Association President Ed Foglia (June 6th; March 1988 *CJ*)

CRIMINAL LAW — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Republican state Senators Ed Davis of Northridge and Ed Royce of Anaheim, GOP Assemblyman Ross Johnson of Fullerton, Kern County District Attorney Ed Jagels, Robert Henderson, Anthony Rackauckas, Sterling Norris, Richard Riordan, and Doris Tate. (June 6th; March 1988 *CJ*)

INSURANCE RATES AND REGULATION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Harvey Rosenfield of Santa Monica. (June 9th; March 1988 *CJ*)

LONG TERM HEALTH CARE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Janet Levy of Sacramento. (June 17th; March 1988 *CJ*)

EDUCATION TAX CREDIT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Manuel Klausner of Californians for Quality Education (Encinitas). (June 23rd; March 1988 *CJ*)

AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE; GOOD DRIVER PREMIUMS — an initiative statute, sponsored by J. Gary Gwilliam of Oakland. (June 24th; March 1988 *CJ*)

MOTOR VEHICLE AND OTHER INSURANCE — an initiative statute, sponsored by Stanley Zax of Beverly Hills. (June 24th; March 1988 *CJ*)

TAX CREDIT. AIDS RESEARCH FUND — an initiative statute, sponsored by state Controller Gray Davis and California AIDS Advisory Committee member Bruce Decker. (July 5th; March 1988 *CJ*)

MOTOR VEHICLE ACCIDENT CLAIM REIMBURSEMENT FUND — an initiative statute, sponsored by James Wheaton of the Center for Public Interest Law. (July 5th; March 1988 *CJ*)

AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE RATES — an initiative statute, sponsored by Steve Miller of Beverly Hills. (July 11th; April 1988 *CJ*)

SMALL CLAIMS COURT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Judge Roderic Duncan of the Alameda County Superior Court. (August 4th; April 1988 *CJ*)

Failed to qualify:

FIREARMS OWNERSHIP — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Carl Murphy of Lompoc and Bernadine Smith of Hanford. (May 2nd; February 1988 *CJ*)

BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE POLICY — an initiative statute, sponsored by Russell Oertel of Claremont. (March 21st; December 1987 *CJ*)

REAPPORTIONMENT — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Republican Congressman William Dannemeyer of Fullerton. (March 28th; December 1987 *CJ*)

NUCLEAR POWER — an initiative statute, sponsored by Ben Davis Jr. of Broderick. (March 28th; December 1987 *CJ*)

Source: Secretary of State's office

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ROLL CALL

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION AND RENOVATION
AB 48 (O'Connell) Would enact the School Facilities Bond Act of 1988 providing for $800 million in general obligation bonds for K-12 school construction. Part of a controversial bond package to be placed before voters in the June primary election. Passed the Senate March 10th, 33-0. Chaptered.

VETERANS BOND ACT
AB 69 (Clute) Would authorize $510 million in state general obligation bonds for the Cal-Vet farm and home loan program. Part of the bond package up for electorate approval in June. Passed the Senate March 10th, 32-1. Chaptered.

STATE CONTRACTS - AFFIRMATIVE ACTION
AB 1933 (Waters, M) Would require that a set percentage of state contracts and bond proposals go to minority and women-owned businesses. Passed the Senate March 10th, 28-5. Passed the Assembly March 14th, 43-29. Chaptered.

LOW-INCOME HOUSING PROJECTS
AB 2032 (Brown, W.) Would enact the California Earthquake Safety & Housing Rehabilitation Bond Act of 1988 authorizing $150 million in general obligation bonds to support current and future housing programs, specifically to provide for increased earthquake-safe housing. Part of the bond package included on the June ballot. Passed the Assembly March 10th, 58-16. Passed the Senate March 10th, 27-4. Chaptered.

DEATH PENALTY
AB 3501 (Bradley) Would allow a jury to sentence a convicted murderer to death if the victim was 14 years or younger. This bill had been defeated earlier by the Assembly Public Safety Committee but was revived through the use of a "withdrawal motion" by the dissident "Gang of Five" in what is seen as a significant victory over Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. Withdrawn from committee April 4th, 41-30.

HIGHWAY AND STREET CONSTRUCTION
SB 140 (Deddeh) Would authorize the sale of $1 billion in general obligation bonds to finance capital improvements for state highways. It also requires the governor to submit to the Legislature a state transportation-funding plan. Part of the bond package up for electorate approval in June. Passed the Assembly March 7th, 54-14. Passed the Senate March 10th, 27-7. Chaptered.

WIRETAPPING
SB 1499 (Presley) Originally a prison construction bill, SB 1499 was amended by members of "the Gang of Five" to include language that would allow a Superior Court judge to approve the use of telephone surveillance on persons suspected of dealing certain drugs. In the past, such wiretap legislation has been blocked by the Democrats on the Assembly Public Safety Committee. Amendments adopted by the Assembly April 7th, 49-13.

LUNGREN CONFIRMATION
Split vote on the confirmation of California State Treasurer nominee Dan Lungren that has engendered controversy on the legal requirements for confirmation of gubernatorial appointees. Confirmed by the Assembly February 25th, 43-32. Rejected by the Senate February 25th, 21-19.

SENATE

Democrats	AB 48	AB 69	AB 1933	AB 2032	SB 140	Lungren
Alquist	Y	Y	Y	•	N	N
Alaya	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Boatwright	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Deddeh	•	•	•	•	•	Y
Dills	•	•	•	•	•	N
Garamendi	Y	•	Y	Y	N	N
C. Green	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
B. Greene	•	•	•	•	•	N
L. Greene	Y	Y	Y	•	Y	N
Hart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Keene	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Lockyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Marks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
McCorquodale	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Mello	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Montoya	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Petris	•	•	•	•	•	N
Presley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Robbins	•	•	•	•	•	N
Roberti	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Rosenthal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Torres	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Vuich	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Watson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N

Republicans	AB 48	AB 69	AB 1933	AB 2032	SB 140	Lungren
Bergeson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Beverly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
W. Campbell	•	•	•	•	•	Y
Craven	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Davis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Doolittle	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Ellis	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Maddy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Morgan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nielsen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Richardson	•	N	•	•	N	Y
Rogers	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Royce	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Russell	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Seymour	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Independent

Kopp	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N

ASSEMBLY

Democrats	AB 1933	AB 2032	AB 3501	SB 140	SB 1499	Lungren
Areias	•	Y	Y	•	Y	N
Bane	Y	Y	N	•	Y	Y
Bates	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Bronzan	Y	Y	N	Y	•	N
W. Brown	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Calderon	•	Y	Y	•	•	N
R. Campbell	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Chacon	Y	Y	•	Y	•	N
Clute	Y	Y	•	Y	Y	Y
Condit	•	•	Y	•	Y	N
Connelly	Y	Y	N	N	•	N
Cortese	Y	Y	•	Y	Y	N
Costa	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Eastin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Eaves	Y	Y	Y	•	Y	N
Elder	Y	Y	•	Y	Y	Y
Farr	Y	Y	N	Y	•	N
Floyd	Y	Y	N	Y	•	N
Friedman	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Hannigan	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Harris	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Hauser	Y	Y	N	Y	•	N
Hayden	•	Y	•	N	•	N
Hughes	Y	Y	N	Y	•	N
Isenberg	Y	Y	N	Y	•	N
Johnston	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Katz	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Killea	Y	Y	•	Y	Y	Y
Klehs	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Margolin	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Moore	Y	Y	N	Y	•	•
O'Connell	Y	Y	•	N	Y	Y
Peace	•	Y	Y	•	•	N
Polanco	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Roos	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Roybal-Allard	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Sher	Y	Y	N	N	•	•
Speier	Y	Y	N	•	N	N
Tanner	Y	Y	N	N	•	•
Tucker	Y	Y	N	Y	•	•
Vasconcellos	Y	Y	N	N	•	N
M. Waters	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
N. Waters	Y	Y	•	Y	Y	Y

Republicans	AB 1933	AB 2032	AB 3501	SB 140	SB 1499	Lungren
Allen	N	N	Y	•	Y	Y
Bader	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Baker	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bradley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
D. Brown	N	•	Y	•	Y	Y
Chandler	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Duplissea	N	Y	Y	•	Y	Y
Felando	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ferguson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Filante	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Frazee	N	Y	Y	Y	•	Y
Frizzelle	N	•	Y	Y	Y	Y
Grisham	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hansen	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Harvey	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hill	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Johnson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jones	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kelley	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
LaFollette	•	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lancaster	N	•	Y	Y	Y	Y
Leonard	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Leslie	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lewis	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Longshore	N	•	Y	Y	Y	Y
McClintock	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mojonnier	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mountjoy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nolan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Quackenbush	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Seastrand	N	N	Y	•	Y	Y
Statham	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stirling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wright	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wyman	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zeltner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

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ROSTRUM

Gang of Five

Your article on the Gang of Five (see *CJ*, April 1988) is nothing but a *National Enquirer*-type character assassination based on unidentified sources. These sources resort to "playground name-calling" to discredit these five men and, worse, the quoted Democrats don't even have the guts to let their names be printed. We all know it's very easy to put someone down when you don't have to face up to them. What makes this ironic is that the five men mentioned lost all they worked so hard for in the Assembly by standing up for what they believe.

As a Democrat, I do not always agree with these five men. But I disagree more with these unidentified sources in my party for attacking them in this manner.

MARK AZEVEDO
Modesto

Editor's note: In 1984 Mr. Azevedo was employed in the district office of Assemblyman Gary Condit, one of the Gang of Five profiled in the April 1988 issue.

Assemblyman "Gerry Eaves has ... the purist motive for being involved in the Gang," but not because of friendship with the other four. The motive is establishing his independence from Democratic powerbrokers for a purely political reason — his potential run for the 34th Senate District if Ruben Ayala retires in 1990.

The Gang of Five stories play very well in conservative San Bernardino County where Eaves' constituents despise Willie Brown. Eaves has stumbled on to a winning issue. Any Republican opponent has just lost an opportunity to tie Eaves to the liberal Assembly leadership, even though he has served as the assistant speaker pro tem.

Loyalty to his friends? No, call it loyalty to number one — Gerry Eaves.

CLAY HAGE
Moreno Valley

AIDS in prison

In your article on AIDS in California prisons (see *CJ*, February 1988), you made several poor choices of words. It is unnecessary and misleading to modify the noun "sex" with "homosexual" when discussing sex in prisons. The adjective "homosexual" defines feelings of attraction and sexual arousal between persons of the same gender. Because most of the sexual activity occurring in prisons does not involve affection, it is clearly not homosexual; rather it is simply sex between men. It is not illegal to have erotic feelings or emotional attraction to another man (or woman) inmate. However it is illegal for sexual activity — of any sort — to take place behind bars. Sex in prison is typically brutal, coercive and subjugating. There is no justification for calling it "homosexual rape" when what typically occurs is sexual assault by one heterosexual male upon another male, usually also heterosexual but sometimes homosexual in orientation.

Also "quarantine" is used incorrectly to mean segregation of infected persons; the correct term is "isolation". Quarantine is applied to exposed persons whose infection status has not been determined or manifested, who are observed for the incubation period of the particular communicable disease to see if infection did occur.

I am glad that the subject of HIV in prisons has been given a forum. But I hope in future stories that the terminology of sexual orientation is not so mangled that it leaves the impression that AIDS (or for that matter, prison sex) is a "homosexual" problem.

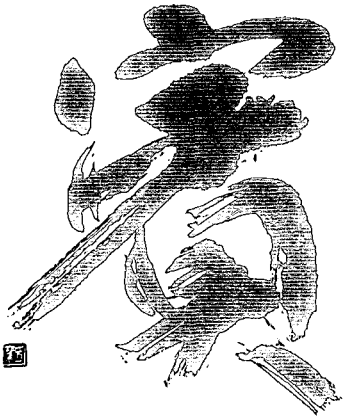
DAVID E. DASSEY, MD.
Los Angeles

Initiatives

Concerning Proposition 77, the California Earthquake Safety and Housing Act of 1988, you state "As of March 11, 1988, no organized opposition had surfaced to Proposition 77 (see *CJ*, April 1988)." On March 14th, the Libertarian Party of California submitted an opposition argument that was accepted and will appear in the ballot pamphlet. We argue against all the bond measures, since it is obvious that the legislators are trying to circumvent the 1979 Gann spending limits with an unprecedented wave of bond financing. Of course, bonds look good because taxes don't have to be raised immediately to pay interest to the bondholders. That debt will be paid for the next 30 years by our children and grandchildren.

Proposition 77 itself is flawed because it assumes that government (read: taxpayers) must pay to rehabilitate old housing. This is properly a function for the private sector.

TED BROWN
Chairman, Libertarian Party
of California



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A note about Calligraphy: Japanese calligraphy, like original music, is a personal artistic expression with an emotional effect. The calligrapher first meditates on the feeling of the character, then quickly renders his inner vision. As in musical composition, many versions are usually made before the final one is created.

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By DAVID G. SAVAGE

A new swing vote

Most of the black-robed justices of the Supreme Court look as if they are most comfortable in dim light squinting at court briefs. But not the newest justice, Anthony M. Kennedy of Sacramento. Tall, lean and athletic, Kennedy stood smiling on the Court steps on a February afternoon after having been sworn in as the nation's 104th justice of the Supreme Court. Surrounded by an admiring family and friends and bantering casually with the assembled reporters, he seemed to thoroughly enjoy the occasion. Perhaps alone among his stooped and graying colleagues, Kennedy looks and acts as if he could run for a political office and win.

BUT NOW, THE INDOORS WORK — the squinting over briefs and the writing of opinions — has begun for Kennedy, and the conclusions he reaches will do much to shape the law for as long as a generation. After he retired in June, Justice Lewis F. Powell Jr. commented that he had never felt like the powerful "swing vote" on the high Court, since he did not cast the ninth and final vote in the Court's private conferences. There, the justices vote in order of seniority. Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist, the staunch conservative, leads off by stating his view of the case and casting his vote. Next comes 82-year-old William J. Brennan Jr., the leader of the liberal bloc. Then, in order, the justices side with Rehnquist or Brennan. Powell usually voted with Rehnquist on criminal cases and with Brennan on civil rights issues, and his decisions shaped the character of the Court.

Now it will be Kennedy's turn and, unlike Powell, he will know that his vote is decisive. Take, for example, the decision by the California Legislature and Governor George Deukmejian to require that teenagers get their parents' consent before having an abortion. Four members of the Court — Brennan, Thurgood Marshall, Harry A. Blackmun and John Paul Stevens — have said that such restrictions blocking girls from getting abortions are unconstitutional. Four others — Rehnquist and Justices Byron R. White, Sandra Day O'Connor and Antonin Scalia — believe the states have the broad authority to restrict abortions. Earlier this year, the Court split 4-4 on whether an Illinois law requiring parental notification was constitutional. Since 21 states, in addition to California, have similar laws, the issue will surely return to the Court. It will likely be Kennedy's decision on whether the laws stand or fall.

Can government require that employees submit to drug tests? A federal appeals court in New Orleans said yes, because the interest in a drug-free workplace is paramount. No, said an appeals court in San Francisco, since an employee cannot be presumed to be guilty of an offense without some suspicion of wrong-doing. Next year, the high Court will decide.

Can the government discriminate against homosexuals? In 1986 the justices upheld Georgia's anti-sodomy law by a 5-4 margin, with Powell casting the decisive vote. Recently, another appeals court panel threw out the Army's long-standing policy of denying reenlistment to gays, a case that will likely be appealed to the Supreme Court. Again, Kennedy holds the key vote.

On affirmative action for minorities and women, on government aid to parochial schools, on standards for sentencing a murderer to the death penalty, the high Court has been closely divided for a decade.

Even Kennedy's friends say they don't know how he will vote on such issues. His legal instincts are conservative, they say, but he is compassionate when confronted with individual situations. In several speeches, he maintained that the Court must be more deferential to state governments. Like Justice O'Connor, his exposure to state government may cause him to lean toward upholding state legislation, whether or not he agrees with it.

BUT MANY JUSTICES SEEMED TRANSFORMED by their experience on the Court. In 1970 President Nixon introduced Justice Harry Blackmun as a staunch Republican judge who was a believer in "strict constructionism," Nixon's term for a narrow reading of constitutional rights. By most accounts, Blackmun was promoted heavily by his fellow Minnesotan, Warren Burger, the conservative chief justice. Still, less than three years later, Blackmun wrote the Court's most expansive and controversial opinion in a generation, the 1973 *Roe vs. Wade* ruling giving women a constitutional right to an abortion.

So the best advice on Kennedy is: stay tuned.

David G. Savage covers the U. S. Supreme Court for the Los Angeles Times. *Larry Liebert's column will return next month.*

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THE EVOLUTION OF A "PIPEDREAM" THAT IS NOW A REALITY!

In order for you to understand what it has taken for Pacific Texas Pipeline Company to arrive at this time and place, you must go back into the history of our great country for 121 years, to April 19, 1867, to an event that was referred to as "Seward's Folly" by the media in those days. It was the purchase of Alaska from Russia for the total sum of $7,200,000.

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Without the existing Midland oil terminal and pipeline facilities (built by men of vision) over the past 50 years, there would be no need for our pipeline to terminate there. These facilities allow the continuation of the Alaskan crudes to flow and be transferred for other destinations. Thus companies such as PDM, Bethlehem Steel, Grove Valve, Westinghouse, 3M and Texas Instruments would not have received their contracts, which translates to JOBS now and for the future. This is what the Pacific Texas Pipeline means to our country, because of our "Buy USA" policy. The media has referred to our project as a "Pipedream", and maybe it was; but not anymore. Pacific Texas has obtained all the major permits for construction. The delays are only bureaucratic red tape created mostly by special interests and inaccurate media stories. **We are proceeding forward with construction.**

It has been a long and hard battle filled with disappointments and discouraging events, all of which is best said in the words of Theodore Roosevelt while building the Panama Canal in 1904 (which the media called "Teddy's Blunder");

> *"Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray twilight that knows not victory or defeat."*

We could not have accomplished anything without the help and support of many people from California to Washington, DC, in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and especially the City and Port of Los Angeles.

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